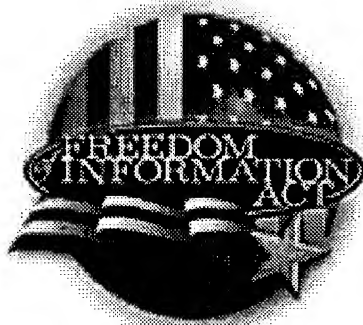




FREEDOM OF INFORMATION  
AND  
PRIVACY ACTS

**SUBJECT: Graham, Frank Porter**



FEDERAL

INVESTIGATION

BUREAU OF

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

914 Johnston Building  
Charlotte, North Carolina  
March 16, 1943

Director, FBI

Re: FRANK PORTER GRAHAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
HATCH ACT

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted], dated March 10, 1943, at Norfolk, Virginia, in which leads are set out for the Charlotte Office to (1) review the files of the Asheville newspapers in an effort to obtain data relative to the Southern Summer School, and (2) to attempt to locate [redacted] who is reported to [redacted] adjacent to the [redacted] in order that Mr. [redacted] could be interviewed in an effort to obtain any information from him concerning the Southern Summer School.

For the information of the Washington Field Division, which is the office of origin in this matter, the Charlotte Office has conducted intensive investigation concerning the Southern Summer School, which is also known as the Southern School for Workers. The Washington Field Division is being furnished with the following pertinent serials reflecting the investigation thus far conducted as to this school:

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b7D

Report of Special Agent [redacted], dated July 30, 1941, at Charlotte, North Carolina.

Report of Special Agent [redacted], dated September 29, 1941, at Houston, Texas.

Report of Special Agent [redacted], dated December 9, 1942, at Charlotte, North Carolina.

Relative to the review of the files of the Asheville newspapers, it is to be noted that in the report of Special Agent [redacted], dated January 20, 1943, at Charlotte, North Carolina, in the captioned matter, Temporary Informant [redacted] reflects a review of the Asheville Times and the Asheville Citizen for the summer of 1936, and that Temporary Informant [redacted] refers to a file review of the Marion Progress for the summer of 1936.



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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/20/01 BY SP2 BLM/mf

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However, a review of the report of Special Agent [ ] indicates that Mrs. [ ] reported that the meeting in Little Switzerland Hotel was held during the summer of 1935, and not 1936, as was originally reported to this office. Accordingly, it is being left to the discretion of the office of origin in this matter as to whether a file review of the Asheville newspapers for the summer of 1935 is desired in view of the information already in the possession of the Charlotte Office concerning the Southern School for Workers. b2 b7C b7D

Relative to the lead requesting that [ ] be contacted, it should be noted that Little Switzerland is a summer resort and that an investigation would necessarily have to be conducted to locate the present whereabouts of Mr. [ ]. In view of the information which the Charlotte Office already possesses concerning the Southern Summer School, the desirability of conducting such an investigation is again being left to the discretion of the office of origin.

It is further to be noted that investigation conducted as to the Southern Summer School for Workers indicates that Dr. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM at one time appeared on the letterhead of the subject organization as being a sponsor. However, intensive investigation conducted in this matter has thus far failed to indicate that Dr. GRAHAM has been particularly active in the affairs of this organization. Likewise, investigation has failed to indicate that the Southern Summer School for Workers is a Communist organization. However, at the same time, investigation has tended to establish that this organization is, to a considerable extent, infiltrated with persons of definite Communist leanings.

Pending instructions to the contrary from the Bureau or the office of origin, no further investigation will be conducted in this matter at this time.

Very truly yours,

*Edward Scheidt*  
ed

EDWARD SCHEIDT, SAC

CSD:jcl  
101-24

cc Norfolk  
Washington Field (with encls.)



RCD:vrl

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

May 27, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TAMM

RE: DR. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM  
NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Beahm \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Reference

Reference is made to Mr. Clegg's suggestion that the names of individuals representing labor, management and the public on various labor and conciliation boards be checked against the Bureau's files for information as to their affiliation with subversive organizations. Attached is a memorandum on Dr. Frank Porter Graham, public member of the War Labor Board and President of the University of North Carolina.

Dr. Graham Subject of a Pending  
Hatch Act Investigation

Dr. Graham is the subject of a pending Hatch Act investigation which is based upon information that his name appeared in the active indices of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. This investigation was instituted after receipt of advice from Mr. Ugo Carusi, Executive Assistant to the Attorney General, that Dr. Graham as a member of the War Labor Board, "is considered to be a Federal employee under the scope of Public Law No. 644, 77th Congress."

At this time the only outstanding lead in this matter is for the Washington Field Office to conduct the necessary interview with Dr. Graham.

Dr. Graham At One Time Considered for Faculty of FBI  
National Police Academy, But Was Not Approached

On March 5, 1942 Dr. Graham was one of several traffic experts and educators recommended by the Executive Conference to be added to the faculty of the FBI National Police Academy. A brief biography regarding Dr. Graham attached to the recommendation reflects that he was dropped from the Bureau's mailing list on June 27, 1940, apparently on the basis of National Republic Lettergram No. 108 issued by [redacted] in June, 1940. This lettergram listed Dr. Graham as a member of the Executive Committee of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, and according to statements appearing in the lettergram, this

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DATE 5/9/01 BY SP-3 [redacted]

committee was set up for the purpose of sniping the Dies Committee and defending radicals.

Pursuant to the recommendation, mentioned above, SAC Scheidt of the Charlotte Office advised as follows on March 10, 1942, in answer to the Bureau's inquiry as to whether he had any information personally or in the records of the Charlotte Office which would make Dr. Graham's addition to the faculty undesirable.

"I have known Dr. Graham.....quite well for over twenty years, dating back to the time when I took a history course under him while a freshman at the University. In the intervening years I have seen him frequently.

"I have the highest confidence in Dr. Graham's integrity and ability and he has the reputation of being one of the most capable university presidents in the country. He is a man of culture and refinement and high principles. I feel that insofar as his true character and ability are concerned he would make a fine addition to the faculty of the FBI National Police Academy.

"It should be pointed out, however, in order that the Bureau may be completely informed, that Dr. Graham has for many years been a somewhat controversial figure in North Carolina. He has many friends in nearly all walks of life who believe in him to the utmost; at the same time there have been numerous people who have come out in opposition to him in the past and have been critical of his activities.

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"The more serious opposition to Dr. Graham has been levelled at alleged radicalism on his part. He has been accused from time to time of being a Communist sympathizer and to have permitted the University to become a hotbed of radical activities. Particularly vehement in speaking against Dr. Graham was David Clark of Charlotte, editor of the Southern Textile Bulletin. Clark, however, never contended that Graham was a Communist but did assert that he permitted Communists to teach at the University and was responsible for unwholesome influences on the student body. Within the last year or so Clark's attacks appear to have somewhat subsided.....

"I do not think that anyone who really knows Dr. Graham believes he is a Communist. He is, however, a great liberal with a sincere and

eloquent belief in democracy and with a deep sympathy for the underprivileged. He is well regarded in labor circles and frequently addresses such groups. He has been serving.....on the Mediation Board appointed by the President and according to the opinion in this section has been doing an outstanding job in the settlement of difficulties between capital and labor during the present emergency. It is understood further that he enjoys the confidence of the Administration and has served on a number of important posts and missions for the President. He is a very eloquent speaker and has a very charming and likeable personality....."

On the basis of SAC Scheidt's report it was decided on March 28, 1942 that Dr. Graham should not be approached regarding the FBI National Police Academy faculty.

Dr. Graham's Past Relations With The Bureau

In connection with the pending Hatch Act investigation SAC Scheidt on January 11, 1943, pointed out that agents of the Charlotte Office have had frequent contacts with Dr. Graham "whose cooperative attitude has been marked in giving information from school records to Bureau agents," and that friendly relations exist between Dr. Graham and that office.

Bureau files also reflect that in January and February, 1942, friendly letters were exchanged between the Director and Dr. Graham in connection with the recognition of the Institute of Government as a self-governing division of the University of North Carolina. At the same time a congratulatory letter was sent to [redacted]

[redacted] at [redacted], North Carolina.

Dr. Graham's letter to the Director dated February 20, 1942 stated,

"I wish to thank you for your letter in regard to the Institute of Government which I have read with deep appreciation. It means much to us here to know that the work of the Institute has been of value in your own great work. Mr. Coates, Director of the Institute, will also deeply appreciate your fine spirit. We are all glad to cooperate with you at anytime in the great service you are rendering to the nation."

A memorandum for the Director by Mr. Clegg dated March 28, 1942, regarding consideration of Dr. Graham for the faculty of the FBI National Police Academy reflects that Mr. Clegg the previous year attended a meeting at the University of North Carolina at which time he appeared on the program with Dr.

Graham and Congressman McCormack of Massachusetts. Mr. Clegg stated that both Congressman McCormack and Dr. Graham were profuse in their praise of the FBI but that Dr. Graham "could not be shown to have taken any positive action favorable to the Bureau other than in this particular speech."

Reports Connecting Dr. Graham With Unions  
(Not set out in attached memorandum)

A confidential informant advised in December, 1942, that at a meeting of C.I.O. Local No. 403 of the State, County and Municipal Workers of America, Chapel Hill, North Carolina on November 20, 1942 "the group expected to have Dr. Frank Graham meet with them." The informant stated that meetings of this local were for the most part under the direction of one [redacted], and that at a meeting of the local on December 14, 1942, [redacted] who did most of the talking, constantly referred to Dr. Frank Graham, President of the University of North Carolina, from which the informant received the impression that Dr. Graham approved of the activities of [redacted]. However, the informant was unable to supply any definite information in this respect. On this latter date according to the informant, Communist literature written by Earl Browder; Robert F. Hall, State Secretary of the Communist Party in Alabama; James W. Ford, and Ben Davis, Jr., of the Daily Worker was distributed by [redacted] to a few of the persons remaining after the general meeting. b7C

In January, 1943 a confidential informant advised that the National Maritime Union Agency in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, dispatched a telegram to [redacted] and Dr. Frank P. Graham of the War Labor Board which urged the War Labor Board to give the NMU a panel decision in connection with the negotiations taking place between large shipping companies on the Great Lakes and the National Maritime Union of America. This telegram is said to have advised the addressees that a panel decision in favor of the NMU would contribute to a stabilization in the Great Lakes area, which would contribute greatly to the ultimate victory of the armed services and cautioned the War Labor Board about giving into pressure from organized big business. b7C

It is evident that these reports do not, except by inference, establish any connection between Dr. Graham and any union group. The first is merely an impression of an informant that Dr. Graham might approve of activities of the union, and inferences that may be drawn from the fact that Communist literature was distributed after the meeting. The second instance establishes nothing except the well known fact that the NMU will send telegrams to and exert pressure on anyone regarding anything it wants.

Dr. Graham's Relations With The  
Administration

As SAC Scheidt has pointed out Dr. Graham enjoys the confidence of the Administration. Under it he has held many important positions. As noted in the attached memorandum he on one occasion conferred an honorary degree on President Roosevelt. Regarding the Southern Conference for Human Welfare of which Dr. Graham was the first Chairman and now holds the title of "Honorary Chairman" it should be noted that Mrs. Roosevelt was very interested in this organization and attended the first annual meeting in November, 1938. A report of this meeting prepared by the Constitutional Educational League states "Mrs. Roosevelt's friend, Dr. Frank Graham, Moscow University board member was elected Chairman of the Conference at the final session....."

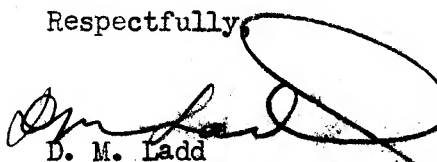
RECOMMENDATION

In view of the fact that a search of the Bureau's files on other individuals representing labor, management and the public on various labor and conciliation boards failed to develop sufficient data to carry out the purpose of Mr. Clegg's suggestion, it is recommended that the attached memorandum not be furnished to the Committee. A further reason for this recommendation is that the information regarding Dr. Graham, taken as a whole, is not clear cut and presents a controversial picture.

ACTION

In order that the Washington Field Division will be in possession of all the available information regarding Dr. Graham prior to interviewing him in connection with the Hatch Act investigation, there is attached for your approval a letter to that office enclosing a copy of the memorandum on Dr. Graham.

Respectfully,

  
D. M. Ladd

Attachment

CNN:LS  
100-23300-12

June 3, 1943

RECORDED

SAC, Washington Field

Re: DR. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM  
National War Labor Board  
INTERNAL SECURITY, HATCH ACT

Dear Sir:

For your assistance in interviewing Dr. Graham under oath, there is enclosed herewith one copy of a memorandum entitled "Frank Porter Graham" dated May 26, 1943, which sets forth summary material obtained from a review of the Bureau's files. Where information which appears in the attached memorandum has not been previously reported by your office or auxiliary field divisions, it is desired that the pertinent material be incorporated into your investigative report, due regard being taken to protect all sources of information where such action would appear desirable. As will be noted from a review of this summary material, numerous references are made to organizations which have heretofore not been classified as subversive within the scope of the Congressional mandates. Though material of this character may be set forth in your report attributable to outside and confidential sources, it is not desired that Dr. Graham be questioned concerning these non-subversive organizations.

Upon the receipt of this letter you should make immediate arrangements with Dr. Graham in order that he may be appropriately interviewed and a closing report submitted as promptly as possible. The interview in this case should, of course, be assigned to an experienced and capable Agent of your office who is thoroughly familiar with the manner in which these inter-

Mr. Tolson are to be handled.

Mr. E. A. Tamm

Mr. Clegg

Mr. Coffey

Mr. Glavin

Mr. Ladd

Mr. Nichols

Mr. Rosen

Mr. Tracy

Mr. Carson

Mr. Harbo

Mr. Hendon

Mr. McGuire

Mr. Mumford

Mr. Piper

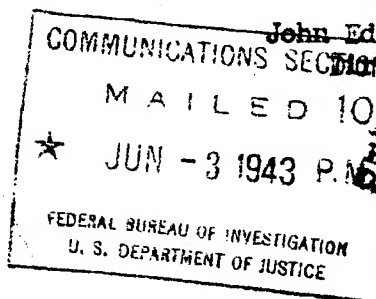
Mr. Quinn Tamm

Mr. Nease

Miss Gandy

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover



RECEIVED READING ROOM  
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U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

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DATE 7/20/00 BY SP-6 AML/STP

52 JUN 14 1943

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**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**  
**Washington, D. C.**

GNW:hs  
100-23300

July 13, 1943

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Foxworth \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Drayton \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Tour Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Beahm \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. CALDWELL *Wm*

Re: DR. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM  
NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD  
INTERNAL SECURITY - HATCH ACT

On July 3, 1943 Special Agent [ ] of the Washington Field Office called to advise that the substantive investigation in the above captioned case was complete and that advice was requested as to the proper manner in which Dr. Graham was to be interviewed under oath.

On the approval of Mr. Ladd I called Agent [ ] on July 12, 1943 to advise that Special Agent [ ] be authorized to interview Dr. Graham under oath. It was suggested that Special Agent [ ] or [ ] be present with Agent [ ] during the questioning. Agent [ ] was further instructed to have all reports reviewed thoroughly in order that all pertinent and significant matters developed by the investigation be covered during the interview. As all investigation has been concluded, with the exception of the interview, Agent [ ] stated that a closing report would be submitted promptly.

Respectfully,

*Galen N. Willis*  
Galen N. Willis

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DATE 7/19/06 BY SP-6 BAW/MLC  
#94107d

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100-23300-13

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FIVE		

57 JUL 26 1943

FDH:JC  
101-2644

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington Field Division, 1435 K Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

August 10, 1943

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/30/84 BY 9145 WES/JC

Director, FBI

Attention: Federal Employees Unit

248-176

RE: FRANK PORTER GRAHAM, National  
War Labor Board  
INTERNAL SECURITY - HATCH ACT

Dear Sir:

Transmitted herewith is a report of Special Agent [redacted]  
[redacted], dated August 10, 1943, in the above-captioned matter.

In accordance with instructions contained in Bureau letter dated June 3, 1943, there has been incorporated into this report, attributable to outside and confidential sources, pertinent material set out in Bureau memorandum dated May 26, 1943, entitled "FRANK PORTER GRAHAM."

In this connection it will be noted that certain of this material has not been included in the report inasmuch as same has been previously reported by the Charlotte Field Division as reflected by the report of Special Agent [redacted] in instant case dated at Charlotte, North Carolina, January 20, 1943, which report also sets forth Dr. GRAHAM'S personal history and the basis for instant investigation. It will further be noted, however, that information concerning Dr. GRAHAM'S connection with the Southern Summer School at Little Switzerland, North Carolina, as set forth in the above-mentioned Bureau memorandum, has been incorporated in the report of Agent [redacted] although same has previously been reported in the report of Special Agent [redacted], Norfolk, Virginia, dated March 10, 1943. This was deemed advisable in view of the fact that the report of Agent [redacted] discloses the identity of the source from which this information was obtained and contains certain extraneous material which was not considered pertinent to this investigation.

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Very truly yours,

GUY HOTTEL  
SAC

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29 AUG 12 1943

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Enclosure

52 AUG 24 1943

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **WASHINGTON, D. C.**

b7C

FILE NO. **101-2644**

REPORT MADE AT <b>WASHINGTON, D. C.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>8-10-43</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>6-14-18, 19; 7-16, 27; 8-2-43</b>	REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%;"></div> <b>FDE:JC</b>
TITLE <b>FRANK PORTER GRAHAM, National War Labor Board</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - HATCH ACT SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION.</b>
<p><b>SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:</b> Information is set out as received from various sources regarding organizations and movements with which Dr. GRAHAM is reported to have been affiliated. By his policies as President of the University of North Carolina, Dr. GRAHAM is alleged to have fostered Communism on the University campus. Reported to have been sponsor of American League for Peace and Democracy, on active indices of National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and connected with numerous other organizations and movements as officer, member or sponsor. Dr. GRAHAM interviewed under oath and denied membership or activity in Communist Party, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, American Youth Congress, American Peace Mobilization, National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners and National Committee for People's Rights. Stated he was asked to be sponsor of American League for Peace and Democracy but declined to serve as such and took no part in activities of that organization. Denied ever advocating overthrow of United States Government. U</p>			
<p><b>REFERENCE:</b> Bureau letter dated November 19, 1942. Bureau letter dated June 3, 1943.</p>			
<p><b>COPIES OF THIS REPORT</b></p> <p>5 - Bureau (Encl.) 2 - Washington Field</p>			

**REFERRAL DOCUMENT**  
FOI/PA # **248-176**  
APPEAL #  
CIVIL ACT. #  
E.O. # **12356**  
DATE **8/30/84** INITIALS **JC**

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE**

*100-47  
10-15-47  
ABE*

**Classified by** QUAS WEB/SC  
**Declassify on:** DATE 8/30/84

**REQ. REC'D**  
**REP'T FOR**  
**BY**

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

**100-23300-1458/01**  
**CLASSIFIED BY SP2 [signature]**  
**DECLASSIFY ON**  
**#941072**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DR. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM  
NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD  
OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT

Report of Special Agent  b7C  
dated  
August 10, 1943 at Washington, D. C.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-32800-10

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WFO - 101-2644

DETAILS:

b7C

The indices of the Special Committee on Un-American Activity, U. S. House of Representatives. Honorable MARTIN DIES, Chairman, were examined by Special Agent [redacted] on December 4, 1942, at which time the following index cards were noted:

FRANK GRAHAM

China Aid Council

Sponsor

(letterhead May 18, 1938)

FRANK GRAHAM

China Aid Council of American League  
for Peace and Democracy

Sponsor of Easter drive

Daily Worker, April 8, 1938

FRANK G. GRAHAM

International Labor Defense

Sent Greetings to National Conference  
(proceedings and Report, p. 35)

FRANK P. GRAHAM

Work Camps for America

Member, National Advisory Committee

(Pamphlet, "Do You Want to Discover  
Something New This Summer?" Issued by Work  
Camps for America, 1940)

FRANK P. GRAHAM

American Friends of Spanish Democracy

Signer of petition to lift arms embargo

Daily Worker, 4-8-38, p. 4

FRANK P. GRAHAM

Committee for Boycott Against

Japanese Aggression

Signer of appeal

Daily Worker, 2-25-38, p. 4

FRANK P. GRAHAM

Medical Bureau and North American  
Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy

National Sponsor

(letterhead July 6, 1938)

FRANK P. GRAHAM

American Committee for Democracy  
and Intellectual Freedom

Member, National Committee

(letterhead 9-33-39)

FRANK P. GRAHAM

American Committee for Protection  
of Foreign Born

Sponsor

(letterhead, Fourth Annual Conference,  
Hotel Annapolis, Wash., D.C. 3-2,3-40)

FRANK P. GRAHAM

American Friends of Spanish Democracy

Member of Committee

(letterhead, dated 2-21-38)

FRANK P. GRAHAM

Boaz letter on Franco in reply to  
Sedgwick

Signer

Daily Worker, 3-8-38, p. 2

FRANK P. GRAHAM

Conference to Lift the Embargo  
Supporter

(Lawyers Committee on American  
Relations with Spain, Prospectus  
and Review, p. 3)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WFO - 101-2644

FRANK P. GRAHAM  
Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo  
Representative Individual  
(Booklet, "These Americans Say!" p.7)

FRANK P. GRAHAM  
International Labor Defense  
Sent greetings to the National Conference  
Equal Justice, July 1939, p. 4)

FRANK P. GRAHAM  
Medical Bureau and North American  
Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy  
Sponsor  
(letterhead, Michigan Chapter, 2-2-39)

FRANK P. GRAHAM  
Council Against Intolerance in America  
Member  
(Circular, A Statement of Purpose  
and Program)

FRANK P. GRAHAM  
Medical Bureau American Friends of  
Spanish Democracy  
Member, Committee  
(letterhead 11-18-36)

FRANK PORTER GRAHAM  
National Conference on Civil Liberties  
Member, National Committee of Sponsors  
(Equal Justice, 9-39, p. 4)

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

A source of information designated as ☐ has furnished a copy of a letter dated August 11, 1936, at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, which reads in part as follows:

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"In the Washington Herald and other papers I have read a great deal of the Communists in the United States. I am back after nearly five years in Europe and know the horror of Communism, and five years, nearly all of which I have passed in Spain, have enabled me to see the growth and cancerous growth of this political and economic malady.

".....I am a graduate student here and things appall me. These are the facts that grow and are authentic at this University of North Carolina where the Communist conditions have spread terribly, and they had the big Communist paid for anti-war demonstration due to the Presidency of the University by a man who prides himself on making the University liberal where it was conservative. This is a perfect medium for the spread of this mania."

The letter furnished by this source then goes on to mention several members of the faculty of the University of North Carolina whom the

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

author charges with being Communists and with "preaching Communism in their classes." In commenting on this letter [ ] advised that the author had made the statement that "this University, this town is rotten with Communism and by its very policies the University fosters it."

This same source furnished a copy of another letter dated March 15, 1937, at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, addressed to him by a student at the University of North Carolina. [ ] pointed out that in this letter the author charges that a certain group at the University of North Carolina formed the "basis of a large Communist--Socialist movement", and that this group was fostered by certain faculty members of the University among whom were Drs. [ ] Department and Dr. [ ] of the [ ] Department.

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A professor at the University of North Carolina, herein designated as [ ] advised on November 18, 1939, that [ ] of [ ] at the University of North Carolina, was a known Communist who had at one time been forced to resign by members of the faculty because of his Communistic activities. This source said that the president of the University had immediately [ ]

In view of the fact that various charges have been made concerning the Communistic tendencies of some members of the faculty of the University of North Carolina, it is interesting to note a report of a speech given by Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, at a joint meeting of the Seminars of the Congress of Education for Democracy, which appeared in the New York Times for August 16, 1939, and which has been made available by a source designated as [ ]. This report is as follows:

"Dr. GRAHAM said that the democratic process was threatened also by those who opposed open and thorough discussion in the schools of 'any pertinent fact, idea, event or issue of human life, struggle and aspiration toward a better school and a nobler society.' He urged that the social studies, with opportunities for free discussion, be assured a place in the curriculum.

"In addition to freedom within the school, Dr. GRAHAM continued, active participation in Community life should be granted to the teacher. Over the opposition of private interests, he said, teachers should be free to participate in legislative activities and

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

to employ fully their other rights as citizens.

"Discussing the clash of notions of freedom and democracy held by some businessmen and those advocated by 'increasingly larger numbers of people in the educational and socially concerned groups,' Dr. GRAHAM declared that, in light of widespread economic injustice and inequality, those concepts must be broadened beyond the limits of freedom of private enterprise. Our present society, he contended, creates the need for stress on the ideal of equality of opportunity."

A source designated as [ ] has called attention to an address entitled "Communism and Socialism at Chapel Hill," which was delivered by DAVID CLARK before the Charlotte Lions Club on August 12, 1940. [ ] pointed out that in this address Mr. CLARK had stated that professors and instructors at the University of North Carolina had used their classrooms for "propaganda purposes" and charged that "while so doing they have been sure of the protection, if not the encouragement, of the head of the University." In this address Mr. CLARK made the statement that, "the University of North Carolina is the only Southern institution at which there appears to have been a drive for converts or definite contacts with the red movement in the United States," and stated that "in recent years the University of North Carolina has stood alone in the South as a haven for reds and Fifth Columnists." Mr. CLARK then goes on to cite various examples of lecturers who had been permitted to appear at the University of North Carolina, mentioning among these, LANGSTON HUGHES, BERTRAND RUSSELL, NORMAN THOMAS, MICHAEL GOLD and others, whom he referred to as "Communists" or "Fifth Columnists." [ ] advised that in this address Mr. CLARK made the following references to FRANK P. GRAHAM who was then president of the University of North Carolina:

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"President FRANK GRAHAM has admitted affiliation with the 'International Fellowship of Reconciliation' which upon its letterhead declares that its members should,

'Aim at the replacement of capitalism by a system of collective ownership....study the experiment of Soviet Russia in relation to the class struggle.

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"In universities, schools and the home, seek to establish in children and youth a mind set free enough to criticize the present social order....."

"FRANK GRAHAM, while a professor of history, took an active interest in the textile strike at Gastonia, N. C., which was staged under Communistic auspices and with the support of hired gunmen and thugs from Cincinnati and New York. He congratulated [redacted] upon her success in raising money for the strikers. The death of AMY WIGGINS, who was mysteriously shot near the end of the strike, was regrettable, but she did not live in a mill village nor was she a mill employee as stated by Mr. FRANK GRAHAM in a verse which he published in support of the strikers.

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"In the summer of 1935 he sponsored the Summer School of Moscow University which was for the purpose of having American young men and young women go to Russia and sit at the feet of Soviet instructors. I hold in my hand a reproduction of the front page of the pamphlet which was sent to prospective students and you will find FRANK GRAHAM listed as a sponsor.

"The reading matter in the catalog describes, in part, the course as 'an elementary course, presenting and describing the basic ideas and institutions of Soviet society.' 'The student,' says the catalog, 'will be given an outline of the Marxian view of the role of science in the socialist society.' 'The course will include a description of early types of planning under military communism.'

"The following summer, 1936, FRANK GRAHAM signed a protest against allowing American athletes to participate in the Olympic games in Germany upon the grounds that while there they might learn something about nazism.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Just prior to President GRAHAM'S sponsorship of the effort to give American boys and girls an opportunity to learn communism in Russia, Dictator Stalin had put to death, without trial, thousands of the people of his country and in addressing a group of visiting American communists had said:

'I think that the moment is not far off when a revolutionary crisis will be unleashed in America, and when that revolutionary

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crisis comes in the United States, it will mark the end of world capitalism. The Communist Party of the United States must be armed to be able to meet this historical moment and to head the forthcoming class war.'

\* \* \* \* \*

"President GRAHAM admits that he gave active support to the so-called 'Loyalists' of Spain which in the final breakdown were uncovered as a Communist organization backed by Russia. In the final days of the Spanish contest, President GRAHAM signed a demand upon Congress that the embargo be lifted so that the Loyalists might receive arms from the United States and continue the fight which meant, to fight for the establishment of communism in Spain.

"President GRAHAM justifies his offering to go bond, in 1934, for ALTON LAWRENCE, who learned his socialism at Chapel Hill, by stating that LAWRENCE was cleared and it is true that he was cleared of a charge of trespass. A member of the flying squadron, which broke out the doors and windows of a hosiery mill at High Point and drove out the employees, testified that ALTON LAWRENCE urged the attack and accompanied them within sight of the mill. As LAWRENCE did not enter, he could not be convicted of trespass. President GRAHAM says that he would go bond for any graduate of Chapel Hill but the only instance on record seems to be that of a socialist product who accompanied a flying squadron while on its way to commit unlawful acts.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Prof. E. E. ~~ERICSON~~, of the University took dinner in a negro hotel at Durham with a negro communist. If he had been at any other Southern University except the University of North Carolina, it is a safe bet that he would have been fired but under President GRAHAM he has been promoted and had his salary increased.

\* \* \* \* \*

"As I stated in the beginning, at least 85% of the professors at the University of North Carolina do the work for which they are paid and engage in no propaganda efforts but the radical group, under the protection of President FRANK GRAHAM, have made Chapel Hill a haven for radicals and Fifth

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Columnists. It seems that credentials for permission to lecture to students have been disbelief in God, contempt for morality, disloyalty to your country and affiliation with Fifth Column efforts.

"FRANK GRAHAM recently told the trustees that he would resign unless he was allowed to run a liberal University, and the Stanly Press-News of Albemarle replied by saying:

'If we are any judge of public sentiment, Dr. GRAHAM'S threat to quit his post, if not allowed to keep the University "liberal" may result in a widespread demand that he carry out that threat.'

"It is a pity that President FRANK GRAHAM cannot see the ill repute into which his mistaken ideas of liberality is bringing a great institution like the University of North Carolina. It is my opinion and that of many of the alumni, that he is doing the institution much injury."

Relative to the visits of LANGSTON HUGHES and BERTRAND RUSSELL to the campus of the University of North Carolina, as mentioned in Mr. CLARK'S address, a source designated as [ ] has referred to the following which is stated in a short biography of Dr. GRAHAM: b2 b7D

"His next big fight came in 1932 when a petition was sent to the Governor of North Carolina protesting the fact that BERTRAND RUSSELL and LANGSTON HUGHES were being allowed to speak on the campus. GRAHAM in answer told a class of students that the University would never shut its windows to outside light and never close the book of knowledge. Today, when various interests and the Legislature try to silence his liberal professors, he fights back; and in speeches and in articles he fights for the cause of academic freedom and democracy in education all over the United States. Dr. GRAHAM still holds fast to the words of his inaugural address: 'Freedom of the University means freedom of the scholar to find and report the truth honestly without interference by the University, the State or any interests whatever.'"

According to a source designated as [ ] the New York Times dated March 19, 1940, carried a front page news item concerning the controversy b2 b7D

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then flaring over the appointment of BERTRAND RUSSELL as a professor at the City College of New York. [ ] advised that this item had stated that

"ALBERT EINSTEIN, world famous physicist, Dr. FRANK GRAHAM, president of the University of North Carolina and a group of thirty-six members of the League of American Writers took their places yesterday with the defenders of Professor RUSSELL."

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A source designated as [ ] has furnished an article which appeared in the Charlotte, North Carolina, News dated May 12, 1940, by TIM PRIDGEN, Charlotte News staff writer, entitled "Dr. GRAHAM Says Communism Not Advocated by University Faculty." This article which was made available by [ ] was quoted as follows:

"President FRANK P. GRAHAM has never made answer to the critics who have charged that he has permitted the University of North Carolina to become a citadel of radicalism. Today he makes answer. He makes reference to 'Mis-representations,' but chiefly he states his position on the issues which have been raised. He denies, he affirms, he makes his stand clear. Above all he declares that the University faculty members do not advocate Communism to their classes. Against this wall of silence which he had set up had been built a varied assortment of accusations...he is in league with Communists, permitting them to persuade the students...he permits his professors to lead the students into radical convictions... he has encouraged students to go to Moscow to study Communism in operation...he belongs to organizations which sponsor rebellious movements...he has permitted the University, supported by North Carolina taxpayers, to spawn crusaders in un-American enterprises.

"The accusations became so impressive that the Dies Committee in Congress has taken notice and has announced that it plans an investigation.

"For every accusation, a defender has arisen in North Carolina to testify to its falseness, but President GRAHAM, himself, made no answer. The University has grown tremendously in recent years, and the increase in its plant, as great as it is, has not

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kept pace with UNC's rising importance among American universities. Even so, there has been a desire all through North Carolina to have President GRAHAM make his own explanation to the people of the state. The Charlotte News prepared certain questions which go to the heart of the matter and Dr. GRAHAM was requested to answer them. He did so, quite cheerfully. Herewith are the questions, and with each is its answer:

"COMMUNISM EXPLAINED BUT NOT ADVOCATED

"Q. Is Communism taught by you or your faculty members at the University of North Carolina? If so, is it intended in such instruction that students should be convinced that the Communistic system is preferable in any way to our traditional American system?

"A. Communism is not taught at the University of North Carolina except in the sense that it is part of the appropriate subject matter of some courses in all universities in the world. Even in these courses Communism is not advocated by the professors who give the courses, but it is analyzed and explained along with other economic systems and historic movements. I know of no American, Canadian, British, French, or Scandinavian university which fails to do this.

"My own position as an American democrat is on record several times as part of the expressions of a lifelong American democratic faith and, despite continuous and unanswered misrepresentations, is clear to the great body of the people of North Carolina. The most recent summary of this philosophy was made for the Williamstown Institute at Williams College, which I am asking you to print, as a confession of faith, in your next Sunday issue.

"Q. Do you have Communists on the University faculty? If so, are they permitted to advocate this doctrine before the students, either in the classrooms or elsewhere? Please show where you would draw the line between an academic study of such a question and advocacy?

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"NO COMMUNISTS ON THE FACULTY

"A. I know of no Communist on the faculty of the University. I understand that two or three of our faculty voted for NORMAN THOMAS for President, and that one was active in his behalf. This minority, however small, have the same rights as the great majority who are Democrats and Republicans in about the usual Southern proportions. I will conduct no inquisition about this or limit their basic academic freedom, but rather will continue to champion their political and civil liberties under the American bill of rights.

"PROPOSAL BANNED BY SOVIET GOVERNMENT

"Q. It has been charged that you sponsored a summer school of American college students in Moscow in 1935 to permit the students to study Communistic Government in operation, this being under the idea of academic freedom: but your critics have said that you discouraged the participation of college students in the Olympic games in Berlin the next year, because this would put them in too close contact with the Nazi system. If the charges are true, please show the consistency of the two positions.

"A. The Summer School planned to be held at the University of Moscow under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for Peace and International Education was forbidden by the Russian Government to be held. I was a member of the advisory committee, along with President HUTCHINS of Chicago, President NEILSEN of Smith College, and President AYDELOTTE of Swarthmore. The permanent committee in charge of setting up University study centers in all the principal capitals and university centers of the world to promote peace and international understanding was composed of such men as the late lamented DWIGHT MORROW, NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, and Director DUGGAN of the Carnegie Foundation for International Education. International Student Centers were established in London, Paris, Berlin, Rome, Vienna, and Geneva, but was forbidden in Moscow!

"Despite the fact that we fell under the ban of the Communist Government, and despite the fact that a terrible war has come

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again, the work of the Carnegie Endowment for Peace and International Understanding must go on in the spirit of Him who came to bring 'peace on earth and good will among men.'

"I did oppose, along with thousands of other Americans, the participation of Americans in the Olympic games in Berlin, simply as a protest against the German persecution of Jews, Catholics, and independent Protestant religious leaders.

"DR. ERICSON FRIEND OF THE UNDER DOG

"Q. The name of Dr. E. E. ERICSON, professor of literature, frequently is mentioned as a 'radical' (presumably a Communist) and as one who advocates 'radical' doctrines in his classes. Is this true? Do you consider his quite famous luncheon with the Negro Communist Candidate FORD in Durham some years ago as disconnected with his obligation at the University?

"A. Professor E. E. ERICSON is the professor who actively supported NORMAN THOMAS for President. He is a leading American scholar in the field of old English and has been voted by students to be one of the best teachers in the University. He is by nature and conviction a champion of the under-dog, yet maintains his scholastic work with a distinction recognized in his field all over the nation.

"The Negro Communist with whom he ate supper in Durham was his classmate at Johns Hopkins University. He had eaten with him there as part of his graduate study routine. The Durham episode was not an intentional flouting of Southern customs. As a Southerner who was in position to understand him, I took a stand against his dismissal for this recognized indiscretion, remembering that the greatest Teacher suffered crucifixion because he taught that all men were brothers and sons of God.

"EXPLAINS GIVING BOND FOR LABOR LEADER

"Q. Charges have been made that you attempted to use your influence as President of the University to secure the release

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of a certain labor leader named LAWRENCE in High Point some years ago, though he was charged with leading one of the now discarded 'flying squadron' methods of the labor movement. This has only an indirect bearing on teachings at the University, but will you kindly explain it?

"A. Yes, it is true that, when I learned on Pawley's Island, S. C., that ALTON LAWRENCE was held in jail in High Point as a strike leader, I wired him that I would go on his bond. I would do the same thing again. I would do the same thing for any other student or alumnus or human being, for that matter, so held in jail with no one to go on his bond. ALTON LAWRENCE, the son of a North Carolina Presbyterian minister, is the highest type of sincere and active Christian. He was a night school teacher and believed in the right of laborers to organize and act lawfully for their better interests. He opposed violence and disorder. He was innocent of the charges. The court records at High Point show that the case against him was dismissed. I did not use my influence as president of the University. In fact, the judge in High Point refused to honor the telegram and a former president of the North Carolina Bankers Association advanced the money for me.

" SUPPORTED FINNS AND REPUBLICAN SPAIN

"Q. You are charged with advocating assistance to the Communistic Loyalists in the Spanish Civil War, but with making no move to aid the democratic Finns when Russia recently invaded that country. Please explain your position in both cases.

"A. Yes, I advocated fair treatment to the Spanish Republic. The Democratic nations withheld needed supplies from the struggling Spanish democracy while Hitler and Mussolini poured in men and munitions with crushing power. I opposed America's getting into the Spanish war, but I joined in the request that the democratically founded young Spanish Republic be accorded its due rights under international law. One of the chief blunders of the Chamberlain Government was to sell out the Spanish Democracy to Hitler and Mussolini. This is now acknowledged

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in all democratic nations, including Great Britain.

"I have taken as many stands for Finland as for Spain and Czechoslovakia, and also made my small contributions in both words and money in behalf of the Finns. I also supported to the best of my ability the American loan to Finland and wanted it increased.

"THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

"Q. The City council of Birmingham is reported to have adopted a resolution asking the Southern Conference of Human Welfare, of which you were president, not to hold further meetings in that city--this growing out of a Conference resolution condemning Birmingham's race segregation ordinances. A somewhat similar controversy came up recently at the Conference meeting in Chattanooga. Will you comment?

"A. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare is led and financed by such Southerners as BARRY BINGHAM, owner and publisher of the Louisville Courier Journal, and son of North Carolina's own ROBERT BINGHAM; DONALD COMER, textile manufacturer of Birmingham, Ala.; LUCY MASON of Virginia, CLARK HOWELL, Foreman of Atlanta, MARK ETHERIDGE, Pulitzer prize winner while editor of the Macon Telegraph, Dr. H. C. NIXON, STANTON SMITH, WILLIAM MITCH, MAURY MAVERICK, Judge LOUISE CHARLTON, President PATTERSON of Tuskegee, and RUFUS CLEMENT, president of Atlanta University. It is sponsored by Methodist and Episcopal bishops, many college presidents, labor and agricultural leaders, and representative men and women of both races and all parties in all the Southern states. It is endorsed by WILLIAM GREEN, JOHN L. LEWIS and FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

"It is an interracial conference. According to the long established custom in Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, the two races sit in such a conference without segregation as to seats. Bishop PENICK, Governor HOEY, and former President W. L. POTEAT presided over or spoke to North Carolina Interracial Conferences so unsegregated as to seating and discussion. The Southern Conference

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is new, not in that it is interracial on this basis, but in that it is South-wide and comes to grips on a regional basis with movements to build up the whole South through reduction of discriminations in freight rates, abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting, the promotion of interracial understanding and good will, industrial and agricultural development, Federal aid to the states for education, and the advancement of the life of all who work and live in the South.

"In Birmingham last year, segregation was required and observed under a Municipal statute. In Chattanooga this year, it was not required. The conference had sessions of high seriousness and good will in behalf of building up the South on all fronts. Superintendent W. A. SUTTON, veteran and beloved superintendent of the public schools of Atlanta, who participated actively in the conference, pronounced the conference a movement of high hope and promise for the future of the whole South.

"Our platform is not to tear down one another but to build up the life and hopes of all here and everywhere.

"I would like to add that I will be in Chapel Hill all this Spring and Summer and will be glad to answer in person there any time, with documents and in detail, any of the questions raised in The News articles."

#### MOSCOW SUMMER SCHOOL

Regarding Dr. GRAHAM'S connection with the Moscow Summer School mentioned by DAVID CLARK in his address and also in the article by TIM PRIDGEN which is set out above, a source designated as [ ] has advised that a pamphlet issued by Intourist Incorporated, Educational Department, 545 5th Avenue, New York, New York, advertising the Summer Session (Anglo-American Section) to be held July 16 to August 25, 1935, at the Moscow State University, Moscow, U.S.S.R., listed FRANK P. GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina and a number of other American educators, as members of the National Advisory Council of the American Advisory Organization. This source advised that according to this pamphlet the Summer Session of the Moscow State University, Moscow, "originated as a result of an experiment conducted during

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the summer of 1933 by a group of American educators." The pamphlet further stated that the Summer Session was open to all "academically qualified foreigners who are interested in the cultural and educational aspects of life in the Soviet Union," and that it is directed by a Soviet educator.

Further commenting on this pamphlet [ ] advised that it reflected the following courses as among those offered at the Moscow University Summer Session: Philosophy of Dialectical Materialism, Principles of the Collective and Socialist Society, Science and Technic in the U.S.S.R., Survey of Education in the U.S.S.R., History of the Soviet Union, Economic Policy and Geography of the U.S.S.R., Arts in the U.S.S.R., Organization of Public Health and Socialized Medicine, Justice and the Correctional Policy of the Soviet Union.

[ ] further advised that according to this pamphlet the course, "Principles of the Collective and Socialist Society," was stated to be a prerequisite for admission to all other courses.

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SOUTHERN SUMMER SCHOOL FOR WOMEN WORKERS IN INDUSTRY

A source designated as [ ] advised on June 28, 1933, that Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM was connected with a Southern Summer School for Women Workers in Industry, which he said had been started by "somewhat the same crowd who started the Brookwood Labor College." This source indicated that Dr. GRAHAM "has Red contacts that might readily influence his views if they have not already done so."

Another source designated as [ ] has furnished a copy of a letter signed by "FRANK P. GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina," dated November 21, 1934, and written on the stationery of the "Southern Summer School for Women Workers in Industry." This letter, which is addressed "Dear Friend," and requests financial aid for the school, states in part as follows:

"For eight summers the Southern Summer School for Women Workers in Industry has been conducted in the beautiful mountain section of North Carolina.

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"Women from the 'rank and file' of industry, who perform mechanical operations in textile, tobacco, hosiery, garment and other factories in ten Southern states, have come to this school for six weeks of study, discussion and recreation.

"Here they have had an opportunity to study economics, labor history, English, public speaking and dramatics, in order to learn to think clearly concerning their own economic problems, as a basis for intelligent activity in helping to solve these problems.

\* \* \* \* \*

"At this period of industrialization of the south, strategic with the opportunity to build more intelligently a fairer and more humane civilization, it is necessary that there be in the south a summer school for women workers in industry. It is only through intelligence, cooperation and social understanding of all sides and groups that we can build a society in the spirit of the great Teacher who came that all people might have light and life and might have them more abundantly."

A source designated as [ ] whose files contained considerable information regarding alleged un-American activities, advised that his files also contained the letter above referred to, and further contained information that as of March 21, 1935, Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM of Chapel Hill, North Carolina was listed as a member of the Advisory Committee of the Southern School for Women Workers in Industry, Arnold, Maryland.

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SOUTHERN SUMMER SCHOOL, LITTLE SWITZERLAND, NORTH CAROLINA

In February, 1943, information was received from a source at Norfolk, Virginia, who is designated herein as [ ], that a summer school had been run during the summer of 1935 at Little Switzerland, North Carolina. This source said she had at one time collected some data relative to this school as she desired to write an article about it for a national magazine. She advised that the school had been presided over unofficially by FRANK PORTER GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina and that he had taken an interested part in the meetings and classes of this school.

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She stated that the school, as she understood it, was held at the Wild Acres Hotel, which is located near Little Switzerland, North Carolina, and that to the best of her knowledge, this school was allegedly a training school for strike leaders and was one of 28 such schools which were being run in different sections of the country at that time. She advised the school was in session for a period of approximately six weeks, that she had been informed by friends that Dr. GRAHAM attended the school and gave lectures on numerous occasions and that every night at the conclusion of the classes the National Communist song was sung.

The source furnishing the above information also furnished the names of the students and faculty of the school for the year 1935, advising that she had received them from a student who had attended the school during that year, which student she described as a Communist. It was noted that Dr. GRAHAM was not listed among those alleged to have made up the official faculty and administrative staff of the school in 1935.

This source also furnished notes containing the following:

"On the faculty and administrative staff of the Southern Summer School at Little Switzerland, North Carolina, in 1935..... sponsored by the Worker's Educational Movement....."

"Excerpts from the Scrap Book Southern Summer School at Little Switzerland, North Carolina:

'Depressions are not new under capitalism, a system which produced goods for profit rather than for use... A recent survey has shown that every worker in the U.S. by working 20 hours weekly could be given the equivalent of \$5,000 yearly, if the natural and productive resources were used without waste and to capacity....According to the Brookings Institute during the five years of depression we could have had \$260,000,000 more of goods and services. We found our Government suppressing production instead of increasing.....The main reason for all our government plans under ROOSEVELT was to save capitalism....

'What will the changes need to be to meet the situation? We find the N.R.A. did not solve the question of distribution of wealth. It made it worse.....'"

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COMMONWEALTH COLLEGE, MENA, ARKANSAS

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According to a source designated as [ ] Commonwealth College at Mena, Arkansas, was closed on September 21, 1940, by state authorities in Arkansas, when a warrant charging anarchy, was served on NATHAN OSER, director of the college. It was said by this source that Commonwealth College was well and commonly known as a Communist institution.

A source herein designated as [ ] in Little Rock, Arkansas, has advised that letters and telegrams from all parts of the United States were directed to Governor CARL E. BAILEY of Arkansas protesting the action of Prosecuting Attorney J. F. QUILLLEN, Mena, Arkansas, in closing Commonwealth College. This source advised that one of these communications of protest was from "FRANK P. GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina.

HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL

In February, 1942, a confidential source designated as [ ] reported that Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM was a sponsor of and reliably reported to be aiding financially the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee.

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[ ] In October, 1942, it was reported by a source designated as [ ] that invitations to the 10th anniversary celebration of the Highlander Folk School to be held October 25, 1942, at the school in Monteagle, Tennessee, listed FRANK P. GRAHAM as a member of the national sponsoring committee.

An official of a government agency designated as [ ] has advised that he consented to lecture on one occasion at the Highlander Folk School relative to some legislation effecting labor as he knew a refusal on his part to address the group would be "played up" by the school. He said he was acquainted with MYLES HORTON, present President of the school and JAMES DOMBROUSKI, former President who is presently serving as executive secretary for the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. This official stated he believed both of these persons to be extreme liberals and entirely in sympathy with Communism. He doubted, however, that either of them were members of the Communist Party inasmuch as he believed they would feel they had more to gain in their respective fields by remaining fellow travelers than by card bearing relationship with the Communist Party. 4

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STATEMENTS REGARDING DR. GRAHAM BY CONGRESSMAN FORD AND THE DIES COMMITTEE

A source designated as [ ] has called attention to remarks made by Representative LELAND M. FORD, California, on the floor of the U. S. House of Representatives on November 3, 1941, which remarks are recorded on pages 8681 - 8683 of the "Congressional Record - House," under the heading "Communism Among Government Officials." [ ] pointed out that in these remarks Representative FORD stated that FRANK P. GRAHAM had a "very long record of affiliation with subversive organizations," and referred to him as one of a type of man "now infesting political office whose devotion to this or that brand of social revolution is such that they are incapable of handling American problems in an American fashion in this period of grave national stress." On this same occasion Representative FORD made the following statements concerning Dr. GRAHAM:

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"I hold in my hand here the documentary proof of FRANK P. GRAHAM'S affiliation with the following front organizations of the Communist Party: American League for Peace and Democracy, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Committee for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression, American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, Medical Bureau American Friends of Spanish Democracy, American Friends of Spanish Democracy, Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, International Labor Defense, American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born.

"While it is true that many innocent persons have been duped into joining or supporting the front organizations of the Communist Party, it can hardly be alleged that FRANK P. GRAHAM comes within that category. For many years, Dr. GRAHAM has been a close student of political and social movements. It is unthinkable that he could be duped by the Communist tactics that are familiar to superficial students, not to mention those who have made a life-time study of such things.

"I point out that Dr. GRAHAM has associated himself with not less than 10 front organizations of the Communist Party. To that extent, he has aided the Communist cause in this country. I do not charge that GRAHAM is a Communist in the sense that he holds a party membership card or definitely subscribes to the party's program. I simply let his record speak for itself, and I assert that no man would be allowed to hold office in this Government

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for 1 minute if he had a record of affiliation with 10 Nazi or Fascist front organizations. In fact, no man would be entrusted with handling the important relations between labor and management if he had ever belonged to one Nazi front organization. Why then must we continue to turn the handling of these highly important relations over to men who have long records of affiliation with Communist front organizations?"

According to a source designated as [ ] the New York Evening Journal dated June 24, 1942, carried an article by GEORGE R. BROWN entitled "Lists Leaders in Congress 'Purge Plot,'" which regarded a report made by the Dies Committee charging that "the attempted purge of Congress, launched by the Union for Democratic Action, is part of a movement by a radical group, using the war emergency to advance its plans for a social revolution within the United States." According to this article, the report of the Dies Committee alleged that "many of the principal leaders of the union are Communists, or are or have been active in the Communist Party or in Communist-Front organizations." The article states that the names of 50 of these leaders "with their radical records," were given in the report and that according to the report, 27 of the 50 "were national officers of the American League Against War and Fascism (later the American League for Peace and Democracy), or wrote for the league's magazine 'Fight.'" The report of the Dies Committee, according to this article, gave the following thumbnail record of the connection of each of the 27 it described as "leaders of the Union for Democratic Action," with the American League Against War and Fascism:

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"FRANK P. GRAHAM (sponsor of the union), was a national sponsor of the American League for Peace and Democracy."

A source hereinbefore designated as [ ] has advised that his files contain an article published in the Washington Times Herald dated June 24, 1942, regarding a report of the Dies Committee denouncing the Union for Democratic Action. [ ] advised that according to this article the report of the Dies Committee charges that "27 leaders of the movement were prominently identified with an organization which openly advocated treason." Among these 27 listed in this article was FRANK P. GRAHAM, sponsor of the Union for Democratic Action, who was alleged to be a national sponsor of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

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ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS WITH WHICH DR. GRAHAM HAS BEEN  
CONNECTED AS AN OFFICER, MEMBER OR SPONSOR

General

According to a source designated as [ ] Dr. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM allegedly has been very generous in allowing organizations espousing "liberal" goals to use his name as a sponsor. This tendency on his part was said by [ ] to have led to numerous charges that he is either affiliated with the Communist Party or is sympathetic to many of the goals of the Communist Party. The source of this advice stated that on the other hand Dr. GRAHAM has on several occasions been the target of attacks made by [ ] of the Communist Party District 16 in the publication, "The Bulletin." According to this source these attacks were particularly violent during the period that the Communist Party was urging isolationism for America, for during this same period Dr. GRAHAM as southern chairman for the Committee to Win the War by Aiding the Allies, was vigorously fighting for all-out aid to Britain and intervention against the Fascist powers.

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Reported Activities 1934-1942

In June, 1942, a confidential source designated as [ ] furnished the following data and comments, advising that the data reflected Dr. GRAHAM'S activities from 1934 to that time.

"FRANK PORTER GRAHAM

[ ]  
[ ] c SX  
[ ]  
[ ]  
[ ] 2 SX  
[ ]  
[ ] c SX

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[REDACTED] c ~~SI~~

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] c ~~SI~~

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] c ~~SI~~

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From another source designated as [REDACTED] the following has been received: b2  
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"FRANK P. GRAHAM

League of Nations Association, Inc.  
Commission of Interracial Cooperation  
Honorary Vice President, National Consumers League  
Advisory Council Moscow State University

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Sponsor of Emergency Peace Campaign, 1936  
 Vice President of National Council for Prevention of War  
 General Committee, Medical Bureau of American Friends  
 of Spanish Democracy  
 Signer of statement on International Situation Made  
 Public by American League for Peace and Democracy  
 American Association for Economic Freedom  
 Council Against Intolerance in America  
 Sponsor of National Share Croppers Week under auspices  
 of Southern Tenant Farmers Union  
 Volunteer, Christian Committee to Boycott Nazi Germany  
 National Committee of American Boycott Against Aggressor  
 Nations  
 Sponsor Committee of 4th Annual Conference of American  
 Committee for Protection of Foreign Born  
 National Committee of American Committee for Democracy  
 and Intellectual Freedom  
 Chairman of Southern Conference for Human Welfare (ACLU)  
 Signed Petition Urging Lifting of Ban on JOHN STRACHEY,  
 President of the University of North Carolina, 1931."

A source previously designated herein as [ ] whose files contain considerable information regarding alleged un-American activities, advised that those files contained the following information regarding Dr. GRAHAM: Attended Southern Committee for Human Welfare, Birmingham, Alabama, November 23, 1938; Advisory Committee, Southern School for Women Workers in Industry, Arnold, Maryland; Council Against Intolerance in America. According to the magazine, "The Nation," he is one of the 27 men and women who deserves the applause of his countrymen for his "outstanding leadership in social service and education."

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EMERGENCY PEACE CAMPAIGN

A source herein designated as [ ] has called attention to literature of the Emergency Peace Campaign which reveals that the campaign was initiated by the American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on April 21, 1936, with a nation-wide broadcast to Keep America Out of War.

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According to [ ] this movement emphasized the complete renunciation of war. The program initiated by the American Friends Service Committee called for a campaign of two years and the Emergency Peace Campaign went out of existence in 1938. Literature of this movement, according to [ ] listed Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as one of the sponsors of the campaign.

A confidential source designated as [ ] has furnished a leaflet entitled "The United Front," and pointed out that several statements appear therein regarding the Emergency Peace Campaign. According to these statements the Emergency Peace Campaign was directed by "a United Front of many of the Nation's leading Communists, Socialists and Pacifists and radicals." Among organizations listed as being associated with the Peace Campaign were the following: War Resisters League, Fellowship of Reconciliation, World Peaceways, Inc., Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, American Student Union, American League Against War and Fascism and the Friends of the Soviet Union.

Listed in this leaflet as cooperating organizations with the campaign were the "American Civil Liberties Union, Conference for Progressive Political Action, Committee on Militarism in Education, FREDERICH J. LIBBY'S disloyal outfit known as the National Council for Prevention of War, National Peace Conference, Pennsylvania Committee for Total Disarmament, etc."

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PREVENTION OF WAR

A source designated as [ ] has referred to a leaflet of the National Council for Prevention of War, dated February 4, 1936, wherein Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM was named as one of the vice chairmen of the organization. In commenting on this organization [ ] advised that a report of the annual meeting for the year 1936 of the organization set out the findings which were made by the organization at its 1936 meeting at Washington, D. C. These findings include recommendations that our national defense policy be based on defense of our soil from invasion and not of our interests abroad; that the munitions industry be nationalized, that war profits be taxed drastically and that the Constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech, press and assembly be zealously maintained.

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A source designated as [ ] has advised that literature issued by the National Council for Prevention of War, 532 17th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. in May, 1939 showing FRANK P. GRAHAM as one of the vice chairmen of this organization

NORTH AMERICAN COMMITTEE TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY;  
AMERICAN FRIENDS OF SPANISH DEMOCRACY;  
MEDICAL BUREAU OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF SPANISH  
DEMOCRACY;  
SPANISH INTELLECTUAL AID;  
SPANISH RESCUE SHIP MISSION

A source designated as [ ] has advised that in the January 3, 1937 issue of the "New Masses," FRANK P. GRAHAM was stated to be a member of the Medical Bureau of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

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Confidential informant [ ] has pointed out that a letter dated February 25, 1937, on the stationery of the Medical Bureau of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, Chicago Chapter, contained the names of the persons composing the general committee and the executive committee of the organization. According to this source "President FRANK P. GRAHAM" was listed on the letter as a member of the executive committee.

A source designated herein as [ ] has furnished information that a bulletin entitled "Plans and Results," which he described as a weekly organizational bulletin of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, 318 4th Avenue, New York, listed among others in bulletin #12 dated April 21, 1937, the name of Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, University of North Carolina, as a new signer of the Guernica Appeal, in which the Spanish Fascist air raid on the Holy City of the Basque people was condemned.

Confidential informant [ ] has advised that a letter dated February 18, 1938, soliciting funds which was issued by DOUGLAS JACOBS, campaign director, Medical Bureau, and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, 318 4th Avenue, New York City contained a partial list of the national sponsors. This list, according to [ ] included "PRESIDENT FRANK P. GRAHAM."

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[ ] has called attention to the Daily Worker dated March 8, 1938, as reporting that FRANK P. GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina, was one of the signers of a letter prepared by Dr. FRANZ BOAZ, Columbia University anthropologist, in reply to an article published by ELLERY SEDGWICK, editor of the Atlantic Monthly. This letter reads in part as follows:

"When we see the efforts of Fascist powers to create a Fascist international to which Germany, Italy and Japan are already adhering...and to which Brazil and other states of Latin America, our neighbors to the South, are now being invited, we think it can no longer be denied that the cause of Spanish democracy is becoming the cause of American democracy."

[ ] advised that in April, 1938, a form letter was issued by ROBERT L. PADDOCK, chairman of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, room 414, 70 5th Avenue, New York City, urging the receiver to write to President ROOSEVELT to lift the Spanish embargo and advising that "the President has the power to lift the embargo at once without awaiting action of Congress." In calling attention to this form letter [ ] commented that President FRANK P. GRAHAM was shown thereon as a member of the Committee.

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According to a source designated as [ ] the Daily Worker dated April 9, 1938, carried an article entitled "Appeal for Lifting of Arms Embargo on Spanish Government; American Friends of Spanish Democracy Send President Petition Signed by 92 Leading Clergymen, Editors, Union Leaders." This article pointed out that according to this petition the war in Spain had ceased to be a purely civil conflict and had become clearly a war of foreign invasion and that since the invaders were free to buy in the world market, the embargo had operated as a "positive force of aggression against the Spanish government." The above-mentioned article named FRANK P. GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina, as one of the signers of this petition.

According to a source designated as [ ], a press release of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign under the auspices of the Medical Bureau,

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North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City, dated April 29, 1939, contained the following statement:

"The sum of \$2,960 has been cabled to France for the relief of intellectuals in refugee camps by the Spanish Intellectual Aid, a recently formed committee headed by the novelist, LOUIS BROMFIELD ...

"The Spanish Intellectual Aid today announced through its Executive Secretary, FREDERICK E. MENAKER, affiliation with the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign which is conducting a million dollar drive to aid 400,000 Spanish refugees in France, and which seeks to establish them in those Latin American countries which have agreed to admit them.

"Among the sponsors of the Spanish Intellectual Aid are ... President FRANK P. GRAHAM ..."

[ ] advised that the letterhead used by the American Rescue Ship Mission which was said to be an affiliate of the United American Spanish Aid Society, dated December 31, 1941, included "Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM," as a national sponsor. According to this source the avowed purpose of the Rescue Ship Mission was to rescue Spanish Republican refugees in France.

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AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR ECONOMIC FREEDOM

The Washington News dated December 20, 1937, according to [ ] carried an item entitled "Liberal Group Launches Out to Protect Labor's Rights Against 'Vigilantes.'" In calling attention to this article this source stated that it concerned the formation of an organization called the "American Association For Economic Freedom," which was described as "a liberal coalition representing the church, education and the general public." The organization, according to the article was headed by WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE as temporary chairman of the Policy Board and the cardinal plank of the organization was stated to be "if American political democracy is to be preserved, it must be supplemented by sound measures and guarantees of industrial democracy and must be widely extended to safeguard the future of the democratic tradition." Among the 168 persons listed in this article as having agreed to sponsor the association was "FRANK P. GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina."

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KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR COMMITTEE

Confidential informant [ ] has advised that Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina, was named as a supporter in a handbill issued by the Keep America Out of War Committee calling for support of the National Anti-War Congress which was held at the Rialto Theater, Washington, D. C., May 28, 30, 1938.

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

A source of information designated as [ ] has called attention to a bulletin entitled "The Fifth Column in the South," published in 1940 by the Constitutional Educational League, Inc., and stated that this bulletin deals at length with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. This source pointed out that according to the bulletin "Dr. FRANK GRAHAM, Moscow University Board Member," was elected chairman of the conference at the final session held in Birmingham, Alabama in 1938. In commenting on the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, this bulletin states that it was promoted by the Communists and that "free Communists were primarily responsible for the whole set-up." According to the Bulletin, the Birmingham, Alabama city commission passed a resolution wherein it was stated that "the real object of the conference was a Left-Wing movement financed in whole or in part by Communists."

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[ ] recalled an article written by ROBERT F. HALL, State Secretary of the Communist Party in Alabama entitled "The Southern Conference for Human Welfare," which was printed in the January, 1939 issue of the publication "the Communist." This article in discussing the Southern Conference for Human Welfare which was held in Birmingham, Alabama, November 20, 23, 1938, states that the keynote of the Conference was given in the opening session by Dr. FRANK GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina, who was quoted as saying that the Conference "takes its stand here tonight on the American Bill of Rights and the Sermon of the Mount - a simple stand of American democracy and Christianity." According to the article, Dr. GRAHAM departed from his prepared speech to indict vigorously the Nazi persecution of Jews and Catholics, and to pay tribute to the Negro people, leaving no doubt that the Negro question was to be almost central in the business of the conference. This article also mentions that the Communist Party was represented at the conference by five southern communist delegates and that "our Party contributed in a modest and constructive manner to the success of the conference."

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According to a source of information designated as [ ] the second annual meeting of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was held at Chattanooga, Tennessee, April 14, 16, 1940, and among the various resolutions passed by the Conference were the advocacy of the elimination of the poll taxes in southern states, anti-lynching legislation, wage and hour legislation, preservation of civil rights and democratic principles, action to do away with discrimination against the Negro, freedom for the Scottsboro Boys, assistance for Negro education, advocacy for the election of working people of the South to office, old age pensions, low-rent housing projects and the protestation of the discharge of WPA workers.

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In calling attention to an article appearing in a Chattanooga newspaper on April 17, 1940, [ ] has pointed out that this article stated that Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina would retire as chairman of the conference within the next two months and had declined to hold his office for another one year term.

[ ] in May, 1940, furnished a report about the second annual meeting of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. This source advised that this report was apparently prepared by a representative of the Socialist Party who attended the conference. The report to which [ ] referred states that the "machinery of the conference is controlled by Stalinists who have carefully concealed their real political orientation from the non-Stalinist executive council," and names [ ] Civil Rights Committee [ ] and Pro [ ]

as among those who "religiously followed the Communist Party line at the conference." The report goes on to state that the Stalinists had almost disrupted an executive council meeting in an effort to keep the Southern Secretary of the Workers Defense League and representatives of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union off the committees, but that this effort had failed and strong support for these nominees came from several members of the executive council including the chairman, Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, who spoke strongly in defense of the Workers Defense League and the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. The report also states that when it became evident that Dr. GRAHAM would not accept re-election as chairman of the conference the Stalinist "element started a campaign booming [ ] from Norman, Oklahoma as GRAHAM'S successor." It is further stated that after [ ] nomination was

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blocked in the Nominating Committee, Dr. GRAHAM was persuaded to take the position for another two months until a successor could be found.

In discussing the make-up of the Executive Council of the Conference, this report makes the statement, "there are 16 people, with five of them probably falling in the fellow traveller class and the other 11 opposed to Communists when they can find out who they are." After mentioning those who are alleged to be "fellow travellers," the report names Dr. GRAHAM as one of the members of the executive council who "will likely oppose the Communist influx." b2

[redacted] b7D [redacted] has advised that a letter sent by [redacted] b7C [redacted] of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare dated January 14, 1941, listed on the letterhead "FRANK P. GRAHAM, Honorary Chairman."

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b7C Information was received from a confidential source designated as [redacted] that in January, 1941, FRANK P. GRAHAM, who at that time was honorary chairman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare had informed [redacted] of the Conference, and [redacted] Oklahoma, that certain questions had been raised by members of the committee and others as to whether or not [redacted] was a Communist; that while [redacted] had the right to be anything he wanted to be, he did not have the right to be something by indication and to use the Southern Conference for Human Welfare to that end.

This same source advised that Dr. GRAHAM, as honorary chairman of the conference, had accused [redacted] together with [redacted] of using the name of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in behalf of an "apparently Communist inspired meeting in New York," to oppose the national defense program, which program, Dr. GRAHAM said had been adopted as national policy by the members of the executive board of the Conference. According to this source Dr. GRAHAM accused [redacted] along with others of the organization of being bent on breaking up the organization and perhaps making necessary the reorganization of "forward looking groups for social justice and human welfare." [redacted] advised that [redacted] had replied to this accusation by Dr. GRAHAM by stating that he intended to attend the meeting to which Dr. GRAHAM had referred and that the purpose of this meeting was in accordance with

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the policy set forth at the Chattanooga conference of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, namely that the conference unite with others to demand that America stay out of foreign wars. According to [ ] [ ] referred to Dr. GRAHAM as one of "some erstwhile liberals who flee in full retreat before war hysteria."

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In commenting further on Dr. GRAHAM'S relationship with [ ] [ ] advised that [ ] had intimated that he regarded Dr. GRAHAM as an "interventionist" who never believed in the basic program of the conference and who was one of a group who would like to discredit the organization. [ ] also advised that on one occasion Dr. GRAHAM had told [ ] that he, GRAHAM, was in favor of "extending democracy in America and defending democracy in the world."

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On April 15, 1941, information was received from a source designated as [ ] that Representative SHAFER of the U. S. Congress, had indicated that a member of the National Mediation Board, Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, had formerly headed the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which had been named by J. B. MATTHEWS, investigator for the Dies Committee as a Communist "front." It was stated by this source that when Representative EWING THOMASSON asked Mr. MATTHEWS if he considered Dr. GRAHAM as being un-American, Mr. MATTHEWS replied "no" and added that many very well intentioned persons had been duped by such organizations.

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According to a source designated as [ ] the third annual meeting of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was held April 19, 21, 1942 at Nashville, Tennessee, at which conference the following organizations were reportedly represented:

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National Negro Congress  
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties  
American Civil Liberties Union  
National Association for Advancement of Colored People  
Tennessee League of Women Voters  
Southern Tenant Farmers Union  
Alabama Farmers Union  
Communist Party  
National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax  
Workers Defense League

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It was reported by a source designated as [ ] that Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, was one of the members of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in attendance at the Nashville meeting mentioned above. It has also been reported by this source that as of September 24, 1942, Dr. GRAHAM was on the executive board of the organization and held the title of honorary president.

AMERICAN STUDENT UNION

A source of information designated herein as [ ] has stated that on December 26, 1938, the Daily Worker carried an article in which the name of FRANK P. GRAHAM, University of North Carolina, was listed as being among those persons expressing an interest in and good will toward the 4th annual convention of the American Student Union which was held at the City College of New York from December 26, 1938, to December 30, 1938.

According to a source of information designated as [ ] the Daily Worker for February 14, 1939, carried a story that the American Student Union had initiated a "human rights roll call to promote consideration in colleges of a program by which democracy can be safeguarded." Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina, was listed in this article as one of many leading educators and statesmen who endorsed the roll call in principle.

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AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

According to [ ] Dr. GRAHAM'S name appeared in the March 18, 1939 issue of the "New Masses," among the signers of a statement sponsored by the American League for Peace and Democracy to promote unity of action between the Soviet Union and several other countries including the United States.

It might be noted that in his remarks to the House of Representatives on November 3, 1941, to which source of information [ ] has previously referred in this report, Representative IRLAND M. FORD stated, "I hold in my hand here the documentary proof of FRANK P. GRAHAM'S affiliation with the following front organizations of the Communist Party: American League for Peace and Democracy ....."

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As has been reported previously herein by [ ] an article appeared in the New York Evening Journal American of June 24, 1942, stating that a report of the Dies Committee carried a "thumbnail record of the connection of 27 leaders of the Union for Democratic Action with the American League Against War and Fascism," which included "FRANK P. GRAHAM (sponsor of the Union) was national sponsor of the American League for Peace and Democracy." It might also be noted that similar information has previously been furnished by source of information [ ] and set out hereinbefore.

SOCIETY FOR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

A source of information designated as [ ] has called attention to an article appearing in the New York Times dated April 2, 1939 entitled "Bund Inquiry Plea Gains Force Here." According to [ ] this article states that the New York Chapter of the Society for American Democracy was circulating a petition in New York City and New York State asking for an investigation of the German American Bund. The Society for American Democracy was described in this article as "a national non-partisan organization organized in January to carry on a militant nation wide attack against all un-American isms, but particularly nazism, which it considered the most widespread and dangerous." The article listed Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina as being on the national board of sponsors of this organization.

AMERICAN BOYCOTT AGAINST AGGRESSOR NATIONS

[ ] has advised that a form letter dated July 7, 1939, soliciting members, on the letterhead of the American Boycott Against Aggressor Nations, 5 Maiden Lane, New York, New York, showed President FRANK P. GRAHAM as a member of the national committee. According to this source the letter indicated that the boycott sponsored by the organization was aimed particularly at Japan.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

Information has been received from a source designated as [ ] that the annual report of the American Civil Liberties Union for

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the year 1939-40 contained the name of Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as a member of the National Committee.

According to [ ] a letter issued by [ ] of the American Civil Liberties Union dated August 10, 1942, listed Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM on the letterhead as a member of the National Committee of that organization. b7C b2 b7D

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS WEEK

[ ] has furnished a copy of a circular letter of National Sharecroppers Week dated in February, 1940 which announces that National Sharecroppers Week will be held March 4 - 10, 1940 and indicates that the proceeds would be used for the benefit of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. This letter listed Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as one of the sponsors. b7C

According to a source designated as [ ] literature of National Sharecroppers Week in 1941 showed Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as chairman of the National Committee and literature of this organization announcing National Sharecroppers Week in March, 1942, listed Dr. GRAHAM as a member of the committee of sponsors.

[ ] has referred to a letter dated February 20, 1943, addressed to "Dear Friend" and signed by [ ] announcing National Sharecroppers Week February 2, - 27, 1943, which letter contained a partial list of "Committee of Sponsors." This source pointed out the name of FRANK P. GRAHAM which appeared on this list.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRACY AND INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM

A source designated as [ ] has advised that a publication of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom dated in November, 1938 states the purpose of this organization which is stated in the publication to have been organized in 1939 in order to "rally scientists and educators to active participation in the struggle to preserve and extend our democratic institution." This publication further states that the organization has been pledged to protect and extend intellectual freedom to strengthen American democracy to combat propaganda for racial and religious discrimination

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and intolerance, to help make our schools fortresses of democracy. This source further advised that the official publication of the Committee, "The American Committee News Service for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom," issue #5 dated April 15, 1940, showed President FRANK P. GRAHAM as a member of the organization.

According to a source designated as [ ] the American Committee for Democratic and Intellectual Freedom, 519 West 21st Street, New York City, was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York on May 23, 1940. The source furnishing this information advised that it has been reported that this Committee was active in 1941 in criticizing the action of the Rapp-Coudert Legislative Committee (which was investigating Communism in the schools of New York City) and the Board of Higher Education; in criticizing Governor TALMADGE and the State Board of Regents of Georgia, in dismissing Dr. WALTER E. COCKING, Dean of the School of Education, University of Georgia, for advocating racial equality in education, and in condemning the criminal syndicalism trials in Oklahoma in which several persons were given prison sentences. This source further advised that MOSE I. FINKELSTEIN, Executive Secretary of the organization, allegedly was not re-appointed to the faculty of New York City College because he had been named as a Communist in the hearings before the Rapp-Coudert Committee.

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A person designated as [ ] who was employed as an investigator by the Rapp-Coudert Committee has advised that the minutes of the hearings before that Committee contained statements to the effect that MOSE I. FINKELSTEIN was a Communist and that he had attended Communist meetings at the City College of New York. This same source stated that Professor NED H. DEARBORN, RICHARD T. BOY and FRANZ BOAZ, some of the incorporators of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom were all known to be very liberal thinkers but could hardly be considered as Communists though they might be classed as "fellow travellers." This source advised that at a hearing before the Rapp-Coudert Committee on April 8, 1941, FINKELSTEIN denied the charges that he was a Communist.

A source designated as [ ] has called attention to an article appearing in the New York Times dated December 21, 1939, wherein it was stated that Dr. NELSON P. MEAD, acting President of the City College of New York had resigned from membership in the American Committee for Democratic

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and Intellectual Freedom a week after 10 prominent members of the Committee had urged the college authorities to permit EARL BROWDER to speak at a civil liberties forum at the college.

[ ] has furnished a letterhead of the American Committee for Democratic and Intellectual Freedom showing the Executive and National Committee for 1941. This letterhead listed Professor FRANK BOAZ, Columbia University, as Honorary Chairman, [ ] New York University, as National Chairman, Professor RICHARD T. COX, New York University as Treasurer and [ ] The source furnishing the letterhead further pointed out that it also listed Professor ROBERT S. LYND, Columbia University as a member of the Executive Committee and President FRANK P. GRAHAM, University of North Carolina, as a member of the National Committee.

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A professor at Columbia University, herein designated as [ ] has stated that he was well acquainted with ROBERT LYND and Professor BOAZ, both of whom are listed as officers of the American Committee for Democratic and Intellectual Freedom and that he considered both of them as being very "leftist" in their views. He stated that he would definitely label them as "fellow travellers."

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COMMITTEE TO DEFEND AMERICA BY AIDING THE ALLIES

CITIZENS FOR VICTORY

According to a source herein designated as [ ] an advertisement for the Citizens for Victory, 8 West 40th Street, New York, New York, appearing in the New York Times dated March 1, 1943, listed FRANK P. GRAHAM as one of the honorary vice chairmen. This source advised that the advertisement stated that "Citizens for Victory was organized in war to do what the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, its predecessor, did in time of peace."

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AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

It has been reported by a source designated as [ ] that the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is the successor to the League for Protection of Foreign Workers, which was founded in 1927 and that the organization assumed its present name in 1933. This source called attention to the testimony of WALTER S. STEELE before the Special Committee on un-American Activities, House of Representatives, wherein Mr. STEELE furnished to the

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Committee the following data concerning the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 100 5th Avenue, New York City:

According to the testimony of WALTER STEELE, the membership of the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born is made up of "all shades of liberals," and the announced purpose of the organization is to "combat all discrimination against foreign born held for deportation because of political opinion or trade union activities." The organization was alleged by Mr. STEELE to cooperate to a great extent with Communist movements. In citing cases in which the organization had taken a leading part, Mr. STEELE mentioned several cases in which this organization had caused the deportation of individuals who were either known or alleged to be members of the Communist Party. He further stated in his testimony that the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born defends the Communist Party as a "legal" party and "resents the deportation and withholding of citizenship to aliens belonging to it." Mr. STEELE commented that the organization "demands equal rights for all foreign born, but evidently refuses to demand of the foreign born 'equal loyalty' to our institutions, as required of the American born."

Confidential informant [ ] has furnished information that in August, 1940, Dr. FRANK GRAHAM was listed as a sponsor of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in a pamphlet by VITO MARCANTONIO entitled "The Registration of Aliens." This source also advised that a copy of the "Souvenir Journal," of the Fourth Annual Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born which was held at the Hotel Annapolis, Washington, D. C., contained the name of Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as a sponsor. The conference was held March 2 and 3, 1940. b2 b7D

According to a source designated as [ ] one of the pamphlets distributed by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born at its Fifth National Conference held March 29, 30, 1941, at Atlantic City, New Jersey was entitled "Campaign for American Citizenship and Citizenship Rights." This source advised that the pamphlet in question stated the purpose of this campaign as being to encourage and facilitate the naturalization of non-citizens by eliminating existing difficulties which hinder and prevent many of the 3,500,000 non-citizens in the United States from becoming naturalized citizens, and to insure the right of naturalized citizens to participate fully in the social, political and economic life of the country. The pamphlet stated that this campaign was being supervised by the American Committee for Protection of b2 b7D

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Foreign Born in cooperation with all other organizations and individuals interested in any phase or phases of its program. [ ] pointed out that Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina, was named in the pamphlet as one of the endorsers of the campaign. b2 b7D

SOUTHERN NEGRO CONGRESS

[ ] has advised that Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, University of North Carolina, was shown in the program for the Fifth All-Southern Negro Youth Conference entitled "Negro Youth Fighting for America," as a sponsor of the organization. This source further stated that the Southern Negro Congress has been reported on several occasions to have followed the Communist Party line and to have participated in Communist "front" activities. b2 b7D

In commenting on the activities of this organization the source furnishing this information stated that the Daily Worker for September 5, 1940, displayed a news photo of "Southern Delegates at American Peace Mobilization in Chicago," in which photo there appeared ARTHUR PRICE and JAMES JACKSON of the Southern Negro Youth Congress. The latter was listed in the caption beneath the photo as acting executive secretary of the Southern Negro Youth Congress. In further commenting on the officers of this organization, [ ] advised that [ ] and a member of the American Peace Mobilization, was said to be chairman at large of the Southern Negro Youth Congress and that [ ] had on one occasion called to order a meeting held at Washington, D. C. under the auspices of the Washington Youth Council, the Washington Peace Mobilization, the Washington Negro Youth Federation, Washington Committee for Democratic Action and the Washington Council of the National Youth Congress. b2 b7D b7C

The source furnishing this information further advised in commenting on the Southern Negro Youth Congress, that this organization had sent delegates to the peoples meeting of the American Peace Mobilization at New York City on April 5, 6, 1941, according to the May, 1941 issue of "Calvacade," the official publication of the Southern Negro Youth Congress. It was further said by this source that the Southern Negro Youth Congress in April, 1941, adopted a resolution opposing all war effort except actual national

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defense, but that after the Nazi invasion of Russia in June, 1941, it advocated all out aid to Great Britain, China and Russia. The source furnishing this information further stated that it had been reported that various Communist Party officials such as [redacted] of the communist party District [redacted] of the Young Communist League, and [redacted] who handles the sale and distribution of the Daily Worker in District #17, have on numerous occasions personally contacted various members and officers of the Southern Negro Youth Congress.

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NATIONAL STUDENT FEDERATION OF AMERICA  
INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS SERVICE

According to an official of the National Student Federation of America [redacted], this organization has national offices at 1410 H Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., and Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina, was a member of the Board of Advisors of the organization during the years 1940-1941 and 1941 and 1942.

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A source designated as [redacted] has referred to a handbook entitled "The World Student Service Fund," 1941-42 campaign, which states that the World Student Service Fund came into being in September, 1940 and was sponsored by the U. S. sections of the International Students Service and the U. S. Student Christian Federation organizations, cooperating with the World Student Service Fund. According to this handbook the Fund was undertaking to raise money for student victims of war in Asia and Europe and for student refugees in the United States. The handbook listed FRANK P. GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina as one of the sponsors of the World Student Service Fund.

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[redacted] has called attention to the column "Fair Enough," by WESTBROOK PEGLER which appeared in the Washington Daily News dated September 10, 1940, wherein it was stated that "The International Students Service was once an organization devoted to the assistance of students who were victims of persecution in their homelands, primarily Germany, Italy and Spain." This source advised that Mr. PEGLER indicated in his column that the organization seemed to be developing into a world-wide political union of youth and that it continued to oppose Nazi-Fascism but that it seemed 'lavishly cordial to Communist youth.'

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[ ] has referred to an article by MICKEY MILTON which appeared in "The Review" of March 17, 1941. He stated that this article carried what purported to be a photostatic copy of a page from "The I.S.S. Bulletin" published by the International Student Service, 8 West 40th Street, New York City. This source pointed out that according to this photostatic copy FRANK P. GRAHAM was listed thereon as one of the National Committee of the International Student Service.

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NATIONAL FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES

[ ] advised in March, 1941 that the name of Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, appeared in the active indices of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. This source said he believed that the names listed in this active indices were accumulated by Reverend [ ] of the organization, over a period of years of persons interested in social legislation who might participate in a national lobby against legislation objected to by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

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RUSSIAN WAR RELIEF

According to [ ] on October 10, 1941, a full page advertisement of the Russian War Relief, Inc., 535 5th Avenue, New York City appeared in the New York Times. This source pointed out that in the advertisement there was set out under the heading "These Eminent Americans Ask Your Help on Behalf of the Russian People," the names of a number of prominent people. Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina was listed as one of the persons sponsoring the appeal.

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EARL BROWDER

[ ] has called attention to the following news item which appeared in the Daily Worker dated April 9, 1942:

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'MEDICATION BD. MEMBER IN BROWDER PLEA'

"Dr. FRANK GRAHAM, Head North Carolina University, Petitions FDR

"Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina and member of the War Mediation Board, representing the public, has

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petitioned President ROOSEVELT for the release of EARL BROWDER from Atlanta Penitentiary where he has already served more than one year of his four year sentence, the Citizens' Committee to Free EARL BROWDER revealed yesterday.

"The distinguished Southern citizen and educator was joined in his plea for justice in the BROWDER case by PAUL GREEN, outstanding playwright and author; Professor J. F. DASHIELL, eminent American psychologist and head of the Psychology Department of the University of North Carolina; W. T. COUCH, head of the Chapel Hill Press, publishers of hundreds of authoritative books on the South, and PHILLIPS RUSSELL, Professor Journalism, University of North Carolina and author of 'Benjamin Franklin: First Civilized American.'

\* \* \* \*

"In requesting the release of the imprisoned man, the petitioners stated that they do not consider Mr. BROWDER'S views an issue in this case.

"In this great world emergency it would not only be an act of American justice and fair play to free EARL BROWDER, the petition said, "but would contribute in welding that unity of 130 million Americans so necessary to assure the final destruction of Nazi tyranny" .... We therefore respectfully request, Mr. President, that you now release EARL BROWDER by Executive action."

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According to confidential informant , ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, gave a talk over radio station WFDR, Baltimore, Maryland, on May 1, 1942, wherein she stated that the Communists, together with over three million trade unionists and other citizens of all political persuasion "had addressed petitions to our President, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT appealing to him to exercise executive clemency in the case of EARL BROWDER, the General Secretary of the Communist Party, now in Atlanta Prison." In commenting on this talk, the source stated that Miss FLYNN had mentioned that Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM of the University of North Carolina was among those who had appealed to the President to exercise executive clemency, stating that "the men making this appeal disavow any agreement with the political views of EARL BROWDER, but they do feel strongly that he should be released and have so expressed their views."

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[ ] advised that a circular letter issued in May, 1942, by the Citizens Committee to free EARL BROWDER, 1135 Broadway, New York, New York, contained a list of "prominent Americans who favor Presidential clemency for the release of EARL BROWDER," in which under the heading of educators, there was listed among others the name of "Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina." This source further advised that on May 11, 1942, the Washington Post carried a full page advertisement of the Washington Citizens' Committee to Free EARL BROWDER, in which advertisement under the caption, "Prominent Citizens Who Call for the Freedom of EARL BROWDER," there appeared "Dr. FRANK GRAHAM, President, North Carolina University." b2 b7D

[ ] advised that a pamphlet issued by the Michigan Free BROWDER Congress announcing a meeting for June 7, 1942, at the Hotel Book-Cadillac, Detroit, Michigan, quotes Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina, and member of the War Mediation Board as stating the following: b2 b7D

"In this great world emergency it would not only be an act of American justice and fair play to free EARL BROWDER.... but would contribute in welding that unity of 130 million Americans so necessary to assure the final destruction of Nazi tyranny."

ODELL WALLER

[ ] advised that a letter dated June 9, 1942, issued by the National Headquarters of the Workers Defense League, 112 East 19th Street, New York, and addressed "Dear Friend," asked: "that the receiver of the letter telegraph or write Governor COLGATE W. DARDEN, JR. of Virginia, asking clemency for ODELL WALLER." The source who referred to this letter stated that the letter listed FRANK P. GRAHAM as "one of the signers of the friends of the court" brief in support of WALLER'S petition to the U. S. Supreme Court for a rehearing, and further that the name of FRANK P. GRAHAM was also reproduced in facsimile as one of the signers of the appeal set out in the letter. b2 b7D

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH THE POLL TAX

[ ] advised that literature issued by the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, 10 Independence Avenue, S. W., Washington, D. C., dated November 12, 1942, and requesting financial support, listed Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as a sponsor of the organization.

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NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[ ] has advised that a sheet attached to a form letter of the National Child Labor Committee, 419 4th Avenue, New York City, received in January, 1943, listed the names of those persons composing the Board of Trustees of the Committee. This list included the name of FRANK P. GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina.

SOUTHERN ELECTORAL REFORM LEAGUE

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In January, 1943, [ ] furnished from his records material concerning the Southern Electoral Reform League, 105 East Cary Street, Richmond, Virginia, which revealed that this league was organized in Richmond, Virginia on February 1, 1941, under the leadership of one DAVID G. GEORGE. Its purpose, this source stated, is to abolish the poll tax in eight southern states as a prerequisite to voting and to work for a more democratic election procedure in general. Material in his possession revealed that Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM was a member of the General Board of the League.

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[ ] has advised that an individual whom he believed to be one [ ] described on one occasion to have been arrested in Charlottesville, Virginia, for distributing communistic literature, had on several occasions contacted [ ] of the Communist Party in the State of Virginia, relative to the Southern Electoral Reform League and its organization. According to this source these two individuals were evidently very interested in the work which was being done by this organization. This same source stated that it had been indicated that [ ] had worked with [ ] of the Workers Defense League to form the Southern Electoral Reform League and that it was being financed by the Christian Social Justice Fund of which [ ] was the Director.

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Another source designated as [ ] has advised that [ ] of the Communist Party in the State of Virginia, and [ ] said by this source to be [ ] of the Southern Negro Youth Congress and allegedly leading Negro Communist in the South, had also been active in the affairs of the Southern Electoral Reform League. This source advised that [ ] had mentioned [ ] and an individual named [ ] as possible candidates for office in the League. The informant furnishing this information stated he believed [ ] to be one [ ] whom he

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described as a known fellow traveller in Richmond, Virginia. He also stated that [redacted] is known as a leading Communist among Negroes in Richmond, Virginia.

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EXCERPTS FROM SOME OF DR. GRAHAM'S SPEECHES

[redacted] has furnished the following excerpts from the text of President GRAHAM'S Opening Convocation Address published in "Tar Heel Topics," December, 1939.

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"Crippled Democracy"

"Freedom and democracy are now crushed or renounced in more than half the world. Above the spiritual conceptions and humane spirit of religion rise the strident claims and cruel power of national glory in fascist Italy, ruthless racialism in Nazi Germany, atheistic materialism in Communist Russia, inhuman militarism in autocratic Japan, and much that is unchristian in finance--industrialism in Western European, British Imperial, and American Democracies.

\* \* \*

"Many and complex causes prepared the way for, and many diverse factors entered into, the rise to world power of the modern totalitarian states. Not the least of these causes, the one which concerns us now, is the long failure of democracy to satisfy some of the basic needs of the human body and some of the highest aspirations of the human spirit. Democracy had provided equality of suffrage, but not equality of opportunity; the freedom of worship but not the right to work; the freedom of assembly and the right of collective petition but not the freedom of the self-organization of workers and the equality of collective bargaining; corporate privilege but not agricultural parity; and political liberty but not social security against the hazards of modern society.

"America's Task"

\* \* \*

"In Asia today, youth by the millions are wavering between atheistic Communism and so-called Christian democracy. The deliberate and

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glaring contradictions in the professions and practices of both make their choice problematical. To the principles of Communism it was found necessary in Russia to join the totalitarian terror. To the Christian teaching of human brotherhood and mutual aid was added in the West selfish, ruthless competition.

\* \* \* \* \*

"The Christian View"

"We need the freedom of an ideological disarmament insofar as we first emotionally inquire whether an idea, achievement or proposal is, in origin and connection, Jewish, Catholic or Protestant, Democratic or Republican, white, black or yellow, liberal or reactionary, individualistic or socialistic, fascist or Communist. Free minds would ask on the merits of the case, after a consideration of all sides, whether the proposal is wise, fair and necessary; whether it is, in the circumstances, the intelligent and decent thing to do.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Capitalistic Flaw"

"The main barriers in the way of free organization of people and the equality of bargaining power, and social legislation, have been the theory of economic individualism, the many valuable achievements and the prestige of unhampered industrial leaders, and the power of the modern corporation.

"The representatives of great corporate enterprises can recall with sincere and historic pride that capitalism was a decisive factor in the overthrow of feudalism, in the liberation of the common man, land and labor from the vested control of the feudal lords, and in the liberation of industry and commerce from the monopolies of the decadent guilds. A free capitalism is historically recognized as one of the main pivots in the transition from the medieval to the modern world.

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"Democratic Dynamics"

"Democracy cannot, without decay, stop in either the pride of historic achievement or in the despair of wide human miseries. History would also remind us that, along with the struggle for freedom, and in fact basic to the content and necessary to the endurance of freedom, is the long struggle for democracy.

"Those who identify the basic liberties of the Bill of Rights with the privilege and power of economic tyrannies should recall that the theory of the natural rights of man arose to challenge the theory of the divine right of kings. We all need to remind ourselves that the American Declaration of Independence declared not only for the inalienable rights of the individual but also for the consent of the governed and not only that men are 'created free' but also that men are 'created equal'. We should join to the historic warning of another generation that 'this nation cannot endure half slave and half free'; the prophetic call to our generation that this democracy cannot endure with one third or more than forty millions of people 'ill-housed, ill-clothed, and ill-fed.'

\* \* \* \*

"Challenge of Democracy"

"Democracy cannot be fixed in the mold of the past, must not be confined to political democracy, must not tolerate mobocracy and cannot long be identified with plutocracy. Democratic education does not mistake propaganda for information. Education for democracy is not indoctrination, but is a free participation of all in the creative experiences of learning and living. Democracy is not regimentation by private corporate or public political bureaucracies, but social control by the people in behalf of the freedom and equal opportunities of all people. It is more than an end, it is a process; it is more than majority vote, it is a way of life. Our democracy should be the free spirit of a self-governing people in the control of the source of their common life toward the fulfilment of the American dream. ...."

[ ] has stated that the following "Letter to Editor of the 'Bulletin", Vol. 1 - No. 6, June-July, 1941, published by the North Carolina

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WFO - 101-2644

State Committee of the Communist Party, ~~BART LOGAN~~, Editor - P.O. Box 93,  
High Point, North Carolina.

"Dear Sir:

"Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM of the University of North Carolina, like many other 'liberals' in the South and in the nation generally, is working overtime to get us into war and to take away the democratic rights of labor and the common people.

"Although Dr. GRAHAM'S activities include full support to the ROOSEVELT-WALL Street war drive, membership in the Aid-To-Britain societies, membership on the strikebreaking, anti-labor Mediation Board, he still maintains that he is concerned with freedom and democracy. In line with his 'defense' of democracy and freedom, he recently approved the decision of the U.N.C. trustees to curb interracial meetings in the University and to require each teacher to take a Hitler-like oath of allegiance.

"While he formerly spoke for peace, (when war seemed distant) and fought for democratic reforms through the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, he now finds that the last war was fought for democracy, and that democracy here in America is not so important as making the world safe for Wall Street and the British Empire. Formerly, Dr. GRAHAM was concerned with jobs for young people graduating from the University, now he calls upon them to give their lives for Wall Street's profits.

"Big shot ex-progressives like Dr. GRAHAM are extremely useful for Wall Street's war drive. Because in peace time they spoke mildly against some of the worst horrors in our system, the big money people count on them to lead the intellectuals and other sections of the middle class into the war.

"The phoney friends of labor are around us everywhere, still posing as the allies of the common people. But the situation has changed and the working man can only expect betrayal from the liberals who drop their liberalism at the first crack of the war makers whip.

/s/ I.J."

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WFO -- 101-2644

INTERVIEW WITH DR. GRAHAM

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On July 16, 1943, Dr. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM was interviewed under oath by Special Agent [redacted] in the presence of Special Agent [redacted] and Stenographer [redacted] of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and Miss [redacted] to Dr. GRAHAM. The transcript of the statement given by Dr. GRAHAM at that time, which was signed by him on July 27, 1943, is as follows:

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Washington, D. C.

July 16, 1943

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Statement of Mr. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM made in the presence of  
Miss [redacted] to Mr. GRAHAM, Special Agents  
[redacted] and [redacted] and Stenographer  
[redacted] of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.  
Questions by Agent [redacted]

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MR. [redacted] Mr. GRAHAM, the Federal Bureau of Investigation has been empowered by the 77th Congress of the United States under Public Law No. 644 to investigate the employees of the Federal Government who are alleged members of subversive organizations or who advocate the overthrow of the Federal Government and report its findings to the Congress.

The purpose of this interview is to afford you an opportunity to answer questions regarding information which the Federal Bureau of Investigation has received concerning alleged activities on your part.

The questions I am about to ask you may be answered, if you so desire, and you will be given an opportunity to include any statement which you deem pertinent to this inquiry. A copy of the report of this investigation, including the statements you make here today, will be furnished to the agency which employs you. In order that your statement may have particular credence you will be placed under oath. Do you have any objection to that?

A. No, sir.

Q. Will you stand, please, and raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

A. I do.

Q. Will you state your full name, please?

A. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM.

Q. Where are you presently employed, Mr. GRAHAM?

A. By the National War Labor Board here in Washington. I am also President of the University of North Carolina but I am not on the payroll of the University, except for travel expenses when I go down there.

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- Q. What is your present position with the National War Labor Board?  
A. I am a public member of the Board.
- Q. Mr. GRAHAM, how long have you been employed by the National War Labor Board?  
A. From the very beginning.
- Q. Mr. GRAHAM, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party of the United States?  
A. Never have.
- Q. Have you ever attended any meetings of the Communist Party?  
A. Never have.
- Q. Have you ever contributed any money or services or engaged in any activities of the Communist Party?  
A. Have not.
- Q. Mr. GRAHAM, are you now or have you ever been a member of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties?  
A. National Federation .... Please bring my file here, Miss [redacted] I think I have in my file here the names of the committees that I have joined. I have to check on that. Miss [redacted] do you know or do you remember whether the National Federation of Constitutional Liberties is in this file? I would also like to check down at Chapel Hill to see... I have been on a good many committees in the last twenty years and I would have to check with my memory and my files to see whether I have or have not. I would have to check with my Chapel Hill files. I don't find that committee in this. b7C
- Q. Mr. GRAHAM, have you ever attended any meetings of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties?  
A. Have not.
- Q. Have you ever contributed any money or services, or engaged in any of the activities, of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties?  
A. Not that I know of.
- Q. Mr. GRAHAM, are you now or have you ever been a member of the American Youth Congress?  
A. American Youth Congress? My clear impression is "no".
- Q. Have you ever attended any of the meetings of the American Youth Congress?  
A. No.

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- Q. Have you ever contributed any money or services, or engaged in any of the activities, of the American Youth Congress?  
A. Not that I know of.

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- Q. Mr. GRAHAM, are you now or have you ever been a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy?  
A. We have some correspondence here on that. (Looks through file). I have a letter here which was received from the American League for Peace and Democracy dated February 10, 1939, which is as follows:

"A full time organizer has recently been appointed to concentrate on extending the work of the American League for Peace and Democracy in the South. In order to best promote this new endeavor, we must have Southern sponsors.

"Recognizing the value of your endorsement, not only in North Carolina, but throughout the South, we are writing to ask permission to use your name in promoting this much needed work. Under separate cover, we are sending you a copy of our 1939 'Purpose and Program', and hope that you will find it possible to endorse it."

(Mr. GRAHAM then read a carbon copy of his reply to the above-quoted letter and made the following statement regarding the request contained in the above letter: "In reply to this request Mr. GRAHAM replied that he was so heavily committed as sponsor and committeeman that he simply did not have more time to give to a sponsorship and declined.")

- Q. Mr. GRAHAM, have you ever attended any meetings of the American League for Peace and Democracy?  
A. I am very clear that I have not.
- Q. Have you contributed any money or services, or engaged in any of the activities, of the American League for Peace and Democracy?  
A. I have not.
- Q. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the American Peace Mobilization, which was later known as the American People's Mobilization?  
A. I am not and I have opposed them because I was clear as to the purposes of that organization.
- Q. Have you ever attended any meetings of the American Peace Mobilization?  
A. Never been invited to, they wouldn't want me, and I did not. I was on the other side.

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Q. Have you ever contributed any money or services, or engaged in any of the activities, of the American Peace Mobilization?

A. No, sir.

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Q. Mr. GRAHAM, are you now or have you ever been a member of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, or the National Committee for People's Rights?

A. I would have to check in my files at Chapel Hill. Right now I have no recollection of it.

Q. Have you ever attended any meetings or contributed any money or services, or engaged in any of the activities, of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, or the National Committee for People's Rights?

A. Not that I know of.

Q. Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of any organization which you have reason to believe is dominated by the Communist Party of the United States of America or may be controlled or its policies dictated by any foreign government?

A. No. Not to my knowledge. There was one about which a question was raised in my mind and upon inquiry, which did not result to my satisfaction, I withdrew from the committee.

Q. Would you care to state the name of that committee?

A. It was a committee to aid some refugees in Europe. I am for aiding the refugees from Europe and I would be disposed to join a committee whose purpose was to aid the refugees from Nazi tyranny, and I joined some such committee about which some question arose in my mind and I got out. As far as I can recall it was a committee to aid refugees. Whether it was for European or Spanish refugees I don't remember right now. I would be disposed to help refugees who were trying to escape from the Nazis. In fact, I have helped some refugees to get out of Europe and would do so again without apology to anybody, and neither would I stop if some other people were trying to help them get out and I wouldn't try to ask many questions about that. But I did ask some questions in this case and I withdrew. I have some of them (refugees) in Chapel Hill now, by the way, and they are among some of the best citizens we have in the town.

Q. Mr. GRAHAM, do you now, or have you ever advocated the overthrow of the United States Government?

A. I certainly have not. I have spent most of my life trying to build it up.

MR. ☐ At this point, Mr. GRAHAM, you have the opportunity of including any statement which you deem pertinent to this inquiry.

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A. You may want to insert this letter. (Hands Mr. ☐ a carbon copy of a letter which is set out as follows:)

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"April 19, 1941

(Addressee deleted)

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"I did not understand that you had asked me in your first letter what my personal attitude was toward the war. I would have replied then as I reply now: full aid to Britain and the democracies at whatever cost and risk. I have reread your letter and find that you did not ask me what my personal attitude was, but asked me whether the American people were ready to declare war on the Axis powers. I replied to you that people whom I knew differed on this question. Some were opposed to America going into the war under any circumstances; some were for full aid to Britain even at the risk of war; some were for full aid to Britain without war; and yet others were in favor of our going into the war at once. I was at that time in the midst of a legislative session, and had neither the information nor the time to get the information to make any classification of the proportions of these several groups. It seems to have offended you that I did not make some uninformed assertions and generalizations. I stand by my statement of a lack of authoritative information acknowledged in my first letter.

"In answer to your question in your letter of April 17, I say, what everyone who knows me knows, that I have never been and am not now a member of the Communist Party, that I have never been and am not now a Communist, that I do not believe in the principles and activities of the Communist party, and that on more than one occasion, I have clashed with those who have been suspected of following the Communist party line. I have been called a Communist by some reactionary industrialists and I have been called a spokesman for the capitalists by Communists. A newspaper publisher told me that in the same week he came across materials, in one case, in which a paper published in the interest of Southern industrial development attacked me by implication as a pro-Communist enemy of Southern industry, and, in another case, in which the Communists attacked me as a tool of the Southern mill barons.

"I am an independent Southern Democrat whose political, economic, and social platforms are included within Christianity and democracy, now so desperately at stake in the world. As vice-chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, I have been called a war monger and other names for this stand, which I have maintained from the beginning. I am on record for aid to all the democracies from China to Britain, including Spain and Finland. I have been for the organization of the nations for peace since the days of Woodrow Wilson, and devoutly hope that America this time will not only aid the democracies to win the war, but will follow through for the organization

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of the nations for the prevention of war and for the establishment of a just and humane peace.

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"With regard to being a member of the University of Moscow Board of Trustees, the closest I have ever been to Moscow is France. I was a member of the Advisory Committee to the Board of Directors of the Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York City, which had as its program the establishment of University student centers and summer schools in many parts of the world for the purpose of promoting international understanding and goodwill among all the peoples of the world. This project was a part of the purpose of a great foundation to prevent war in the world. After America recognized Russia, Moscow was simply another strategic center included in this program of international education and understanding. However, the Soviet government prevented carrying out the project at Moscow. As I recall it, Mr. Thomas W. Lemont, Mr. Dwight Morrow, Mr. John Bassett Moore, Dr. Alvin Johnson, Miss Virginia Gildersleeve, and other such representative Americans were members of the Board of Directors of the Institute of International Education and our Advisory Committee was composed of about a dozen American university presidents. In reply to his question, I told your newspaper acquaintance over long distance that Dr. Stephen Duggan, Director of the Institute of International Education, could give him first hand information regarding this matter. I know that Dr. Duggan and all the members of the Board of Directors and the Advisory Committee will consider the charge with its implications as fantastic.

"With regard to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, I know that the first chairman and executive officers and the overwhelming majority of its members are as true Southerners and loyal Americans as any of the citizens of our Southern states. I also know that during my term as the second chairman, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was not a 'Communist transmission belt.' An inspection of the treasurer's books and the names of the officers and Board of Directors would re-inforce this statement. It may be true that a handful of Communists attempted to make it a transmission belt, but the overwhelming majority of us have stuck by the Southern Conference to prevent such a misuse of the Conference and to carry out its real purpose in American democratic ways in behalf of justice to organized labor, tenant farmers, Negroes, unorganized workers, and the forgotten millions. I have been assured by those who have checked the rolls that there are not more than a dozen Communists out of twelve hundred members. Regardless of claims, twelve can hardly dominate twelve hundred. It is not our purpose to drive even the dozen and their allies, if any here or anywhere, underground, but to meet them and defeat them in the open in a free and democratic struggle through open discussions, education,

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

religion, legislation, and humane goodwill, as against subversive violence, hate, irreligion, and a blind allegiance to the party line of any foreign power. I am simply one of a number of devoted Southerners, white and Negro, who are determined that Negroes, tenant farmers and the struggling millions shall not become the prey of false fanatical activities, but that through inter-racial cooperation and understanding we work together to make our freedom more secure and our democracy more democratic, under the United States Constitution, the laws of our states and our nation, and the American Bill of Rights. It is my opinion that there are no more loyal citizens anywhere than American Negroes. Some of the present leadership of the Conference is too isolationist to suit a number of us, a number which has grown, I believe, to an overwhelming majority in recent months. Yet I respect the sincerity of the isolationists and also have faith in the sincerity of their assurance that their isolationist pacifism springs, not from Communism, but from Christianity as they interpret America's role and opportunity. I have always been a participationist, and try to win others to this view, but this fact does not prevent me from respecting the sincerity and patriotism of the isolationists.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"I realize that in the many stands which I have taken in my own South in the midst of tense social situations I have been called a Negrophile in attempting, along with an increasingly large number of our Southern people, to be fair to the Negro, and in the midst of strikes I have been called a tool of the capitalists by the Communists and a tool of the Communists by the capitalists. To those who know me I do not have to say that I am neither. I simply try, on the basis of the facts in each situation, to be fair to both capital and labor, management and the workers. Both have their rights and duties under the Constitution and laws of the land, especially in this hour, critical with the humane hopes of mankind. I do not claim to have the final answers to any questions. I am simply trying to do my part, realizing that it is a very small part, to make my state, my section, and my country a little better place in which to live.

"I also have a deep conviction that freedom and democracy crushed anywhere in the world means that freedom and democracy are hurt everywhere in the world, and that we Americans, instead of dividing and mis-calling each other names, should give our utmost aid to imperilled freedom and the stricken democracies in this, the world's darkest hour.

"At the call of Woodrow Wilson, I enlisted as a private in the U. S. Marines. For that I have no apology. At the call of Franklin D. Roosevelt, I will do my little part now, whether that part be in the back lines or the front lines in our total struggle in behalf of

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

religion and the previous things of the human spirit,  
in behalf of the freedom and democratic organization of  
the peoples of the world, including the German people, for  
justice and peace.

"With good wishes to you, I am

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Sincerely yours,

FRANK P. GRAHAM".

b7C

MR. ☐ Is there anything in addition to the information appearing in  
this letter that you would like to add?

A. There are some other committees which have been suspected which  
you have not asked me about.

b7C

MR. ☐ I might say that I have asked all the questions pertinent to this  
inquiry.

MR. GRAHAM: The Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy — I joined that com-  
mittee and I may have made contributions to it. I am adding a  
committee here that has been suspected which you do not have  
on your list. The name of the committee is the American Friends  
of Spanish Democracy. I also petitioned the President of the  
United States, as a member of that committee, to lift the  
embargo against Spain so that what is now a lease-lend pro-  
position could get to the Spanish democracy to fight Hitler  
and Mussolini in Spain. That is the way I think the World War  
started. I would join that committee again, without apology.

MR. ☐ Mr. GRAHAM, you have the opportunity, if you care to avail your-  
self of it, of reading a transcript of the statement as you  
made it. (Arrangements are made for Mr. GRAHAM to read a  
transcript of his statement).

b7C

MR. GRAHAM: There may be some other committees which you have not asked  
me about which you might want to ask me about which I would  
certainly not want to hold back from you.

MR. ☐ I have asked all the questions which are pertinent to this parti-  
cular inquiry.

b7C

MR. GRAHAM: One of the committees I belonged to that was under question  
I think the present Secretary of War was a member of, that  
was.... (looking through his file). If you want to come over  
and read all these things you can do that.

Witnessed:

Special Agent  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
F.P. GRAHAM

At the time of signing the statement set out above, Dr. GRAHAM submitted the following supplement to his statement:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD"

"Department of Labor Building"  
"Washington, D. C."

"July 27, 1943"

"I have checked my files at Chapel Hill and find nothing about the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties or the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, or the National Committee for People's Rights. I have no recollection of joining these committees. I have joined many committees in the last ten years or so, but have kept records in my files of these committees. I have no record either at Chapel Hill or in Washington of having joined these committees. It is my impression that I have not joined.

"FRANK P. GRAHAM"

In addition to the above supplementary statement, Dr. GRAHAM also submitted certain material with the request that this material be included as part of his statement and as indicative of his political philosophy. This material is described briefly as follows:

Address by Dr. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM, at Williamstown Institute of Human Relations, August 28, 1935, entitled, "American Aspects of the Crisis in Democracy."

Address by Dr. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina, August 29, 1939, entitled "The Challenge of Totalitarian Dictatorship to Religion, Freedom, and Democracy in the Modern World."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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WFO - 101-2644

Convocation address delivered at Formal Opening of the 149th Session of the University of North Carolina, September 25, 1942.

Copy of the pamphlet entitled "The University and National Defense," by FRANK P. GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina.

Copy of Opinion written by FRANK P. GRAHAM for National War Labor Board dated June 18, 1942, in matter of Ryan Aeronautical Company and International Union United Automobile, Aircraft & Agricultural Implement Workers of America, CIO, Local 506, San Diego, California.

Copy of Opinion written by FRANK P. GRAHAM dated July 16, 1942, in matter of "Bethlehem Steel Corporation, Republic Steel Corporation, Youngstown Sheet & Tube Company, Inland Steel Company and United Steelworkers of America, CIO, formerly known as Steel Workers Organizing Committee, CIO."

The material described above is being retained in the files of the Washington Field Division and photostatic copies of same are being transmitted as enclosures with this report. The original transcript of Dr. GRAHAM'S statement, as well as the supplementary statement submitted by him, and the stenographic notes of the interview, are also being retained in the files of the Washington Field Division.

Enclosures to the Bureau: Five photostatic copies of material described in the body of this report which was submitted by Dr. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM in connection with interview conducted with him.

- C L O S E D -

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CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7C

The following are informants set out in the report of Special Agent [redacted] entitled "FRANK PORTER GRAHAM, National War Labor Board, INTERNAL SECURITY - HATCH ACT."

[redacted] thru [redacted] Sources from which this information was obtained as set out in Bureau memorandum dated May 26, 1943, entitled "FRANK PORTER GRAHAM," which contains summary material obtained from a review of the Bureau's files.

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[redacted] Public Relations Squad, Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D. C.

b2

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[redacted] thru [redacted] Sources from which this information was obtained as set out in the above-mentioned Bureau memorandum.

b2

b7D

Article by MICKEY MILTON entitled "FBI'S Fake Youth Outfits," appearing in "The Review," dated March 17, 1941.

b2

b7D

Confidential source from whom the active indices of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties were obtained.

[redacted] thru [redacted] Sources from which this information was obtained as set out in the above-mentioned Bureau memorandum.

b2

b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TITLE: FRANK PORTER GRAHAM, National War Labor Board  
INTERNAL SECURITY-HATCH ACT

S. A.

b7C

DATE: 8-10-43

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CAN/MS  
7D 8-19-43  
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MEMORANDUM FOR THE INTERDEPARTMENTAL  
COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYEE INVESTIGATIONS

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has been specifically instructed by Congress to investigate any government employee who is the subject of a complaint coming within the purview of Public Law No. 644, 77th Congress, and to make a report of its findings to Congress.

In compliance with this directive an investigation has been conducted concerning Dr. Frank Porter Graham, an employee of the National War Labor Board, Office for Emergency Management. I am transmitting two copies of the following investigative reports which reflect the results of this inquiry:

Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated January 20, 1943 at Charlotte, North Carolina.  
Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated August 10, 1943 at Washington, D. C.

b7C

b7C

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Acers \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mumford \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Starke \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

In order that this Bureau's report to Congress may be complete, I shall appreciate being advised as to the ultimate disposition of this case by the Office for Emergency Management.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
Enclosures  
9  
AUG 20 1943  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**  
Washington, D. C.

CAM:LEB  
101-2644

September 3, 1943

Director, FBI

ATTENTION: FEDERAL EMPLOYEE UNIT

Re: FRANK PORTER GRAHAM  
NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD  
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

For the completion of the Bureau's file on the above-captioned case there is quoted below a letter dated August 17, 1943, which was addressed to Special Agents [ ] and [ ] of this office, from Mr. Graham.

b7C

b7C

It will be noted that Agents [ ] and [ ] conducted the interview with Mr. Graham.

b7C

"Following up your inquiry as to my membership in certain organizations I again looked over my correspondence files of the last several years. My secretaries, both in Washington and Chapel Hill, again checked through the files without results which would be helpful to me in giving a more definite answer to your questions concerning several of these organizations. The organizations with regard to which I had records or with regard to which my knowledge was clear I, of course, made definite answers without reservation as to my memory. In view of the fact that I have joined many organizations in the last decade or so, my memory is not clear regarding all these organizations. Neither my secretaries nor I were able to find any correspondence or records pertinent to two or three of the organizations in question. Since the purposes of those particular organizations about which my memory was not absolutely clear appear to be worthy and were, no doubt, sponsored by worthy people, I will not absolutely say that I did not join. I simply have no recollection of having joined.

"I consider myself free to join such organizations in those cases in which I think the cause is worthy and the sponsorship honorable and deserving of support as in line with American or Christian ideals. I found by experience that it was considered by some to be subversive to join an organization against sending scrap iron to Japan; for trying to



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Director  
Frank Porter Graham  
CAM:LEB  
101-2644  
September 3, 1943

aid the Spanish Democracy against Hitler and Mussolini; for working for the equal political and economic rights of Negroes; for improving the lot of tenant farmers; for protecting the freedom and tenure of teachers who have spoken and worked for unpopular causes; and, even in a day not so far past, for standing for the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing.

"As I said to you at your first inquiry, my files, both here and in Chapel Hill are open for your inspection at any time."

Very truly yours,



GUY HOTTEL  
Special Agent in Charge

CAH/ms  
10-23-43  
100-23300-15

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE INTERDEPARTMENTAL  
COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYEE INVESTIGATIONS

Under date of August 20, 1943 there were transmitted to the Committee investigative reports which reflected the results of this Bureau's inquiry under Public Law No. 644, 77th Congress regarding Dr. Frank Porter Graham of the National War Labor Board. In order that the Committee's records may be complete, there is quoted below a letter addressed by Dr. Graham under date of August 17, 1943 to Special Agents [ ] and [ ] who interviewed Dr. Graham regarding this matter: b7C

"Following up your inquiry as to my membership in certain organizations I again looked over my correspondence files of the last several years. My secretaries, both in Washington and Chapel Hill, again checked through the files without results which would be helpful to me in giving a more definite answer to your questions concerning several of these organizations. The organizations with regard to which I had records or with regard to which my knowledge was clear I, of course, made definite answers without reservation as to my memory. In view of the fact that I have joined many organizations in the last decade or so, my memory is not clear regarding all these organizations. Neither my secretaries nor I were able to find any correspondence or records pertinent to two or three of the organizations in question. Since the purposes of those particular organizations about which my memory was not absolutely clear appear to be worthy and were, no doubt,

Mr. Tolson sponsored by worthy people, I will not absolutely say that I did not join. I simply have no recollection of having joined.

Mr. E. A. Tamm

Mr. Clegg

Mr. Coffey

Mr. Glavin "I consider myself free to join such organizations in those cases in which I think the cause is worthy and the sponsorship honorable and deserving of support as in line with American or Christian ideals. I found by experience that it was considered by some to be subversive to join an organization against sending scrap iron to Japan; for trying to aid the Spanish Democracy against Hitler and Mussolini; for working for the equal political and economic rights of Negroes; for improving the lot of tenant farmers; for protecting the freedoms and tenure of teachers who have spoken and worked for unpopular causes; and, even in a day not so far past, for standing for the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing.

Mr. Harbo

Mr. Hendon

Mr. Mumford

Mr. Starke

Mr. Quinn Tamm

Mr. Nease

Miss Gandy

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

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# Interdepartmental Committee on Employee Investigations

Department of Justice

Washington, D. C.

HERBERT E. GASTON, CHAIRMAN  
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY  
RUDOLPH M. EVANS, VICE CHAIRMAN  
MEMBER, BOARD OF GOVERNORS, FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM  
FRANCIS C. BROWN  
SOLICITOR, FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION  
JOHN Q. CANNON, Jr.  
LEGAL ADVISOR, CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION  
OSCAR L. CHAPMAN  
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

December 11, 1943.

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Mr. Carson	.....
Mr. Egan	.....
Mr. Gurnea	.....
Mr. Hendon	.....
Mr. Jones	.....
Mr. Mumford	.....
Mr. Quinn	.....
Mr. Nease	.....
Miss Gandy	.....

## MEMORANDUM FOR MR. J. EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Your memorandum of August 20, 1943, enclosing two investigative reports made pursuant to Public Law 644, 77th Congress, concerning Dr. Frank Porter Graham, an employee of the National War Labor Board, Office for Emergency Management, was received in due course. A copy of each of the reports was forwarded to the Director of the Division of Central Administrative Services, Office for Emergency Management, with the request that the Interdepartmental Committee be advised as to disposition.

Under date of September 27, 1943, Mr. [redacted] of the Division of Central Administrative Services, has advised that the National War Labor Board will take no administrative action in the case of Dr. Graham and encloses copy of a letter received from Mr. [redacted] Personnel Officer of the National War Labor Board, which contains his official comments on this case. A copy of Mr. [redacted] letter of September 27, 1943, and a copy of Mr. [redacted] letter of September 23, 1943, are enclosed for your files.

Very truly yours,

[redacted]  
Chairman.

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DEC 13 1943

NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD  
Department of Labor Building  
Washington, D.C.

September 23, 1943

Mr. [REDACTED] b7C  
[REDACTED]  
Central Administrative Services  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. [REDACTED] b7C

I have your letter of September 4, 1943, addressed to  
Mr. [REDACTED] b7C  
[REDACTED]  
is no longer with the Board, and I have taken his place.

Your letter enclosed a copy of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's report regarding Dr. Frank Graham, who is described as "an employee of the National War Labor Board in North Carolina." Dr. Graham is, as you know, one of the four public members of the National War Labor Board.

You have asked me for my "official comment" on the report. In view of Dr. Graham's position, it seems to me incongruous for me to make any comment on a report which deals with his qualifications for public office; but on the assumption that Congress expects in every case the comment of the Personnel Officer, I need only say that the report clearly substantiates Dr. Graham's forthright democratic Americanism and his opposition to both the Fascist and Communist creeds.

Very truly yours,

/s/ [REDACTED] b7C

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DATE 10/11/82 BY [REDACTED]

100-23300-16

CAL/ms  
100-23300-15

January 13, 1944

Special Agent in Charge  
Washington, D. C.

RE: DR. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM  
National War Labor Board  
Office for Emergency Management  
INTERNAL SECURITY - HATCH ACT

Dear Sir:

For your information and the completion of your files this is to advise that the above-mentioned government agency has advised the Bureau, after a review of the report submitted by your office, that no administrative action is being taken against the subject of this investigation.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. Hoover*

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Kramer \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

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JAN 13 1944 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

JAN 14 1944

*Catman  
W. L. Lamm  
S. L. Lamm  
Kula*

OCT 3 1946

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

WU B8 NL PD

COLUMBUS SOCAR OCT 3 1946

✓ EDGAR HOOVER

DIRECTOR BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

I AM PLEASED TO REPORT THAT THE NUMBER 1 UNITED STATES  
TRAITOR AND FOLLOWER OF THE COMMUNISTS LINE IS FRANK ~~GRAHAM~~ GRAHAM  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA. WE IN SOUTH CAROLINA  
VERY MUCH APPRECIATE YOUR INFLUENCE IN GETTING THIS MAN TO RUSSIA AS  
QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE

H G WILLINGHAM

558A OCT 4.

5900

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100-23300-17  
c Mr. Nichols

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DATE 7/31/00 BY SPAN/MTT

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. D. M. LADD

DATE: **March 7, 1947**

FROM : V. P. KEAY

SUBJECT: DR. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Beahm  
Miss Gandy

b7C

Mr. [ ] of the Atomic Energy Commission requested a summary of information pertaining to the above-captioned individual.

b7C

Mr. [ ] stated that the Atomic Energy Commission was considering Dr. Graham as a Consultant regarding non-scientific work for the Commission. There is being attached a letter to Mr. [ ] and a summary of information pertaining to Dr. Frank Porter Graham. b7c

b7C

**ACTION:**

If you concur, it is being recommended that the attached letter and summary be forwarded to the Atomic Energy Commission.

## Attachment

**RECORDED**

100 - 29300 - 18

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EX - 58

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100-23300-18

March 7, 1947

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

To: Atomic Energy Commission  
New War Department Building  
Washington, D. C.

Attention: Mr. [REDACTED]  
Room 4019

b7C

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: DR. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM

In compliance with your previous request, there is being attached a summary of information found in the files of this Bureau pertaining to the above-captioned individual.

Of course this summary is confidential, and it is requested that the information contained therein be given minimum dissemination within your organization.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Enclosure

LLK:hke

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 10/21/78

DECLASSIFIED BY 1259 JH/20  
ON 10-10-78

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
DR. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM - Summary

PERSONAL HISTORY

Frank Porter Graham was born in Fayetteville, North Carolina, on October 14, 1886. He spent his boyhood at Charlotte, North Carolina, where he graduated from the Central High School. In 1909, he received an A.B. degree from the University of North Carolina. He later obtained a degree in Law from the same institution, and was employed for several years as an instructor in English at the Raleigh High School, Raleigh, North Carolina. In 1915, he obtained an M.A. degree from Columbia University. Shortly before America's entrance into World War I, he was appointed professor of History at the University of North Carolina. In June, 1918, he enlisted in the Marine Corps and served for approximately two years, emerging as a First Lieutenant. He then resumed his position as professor of History at the University of North Carolina, serving in this capacity until 1930, when he was elected President of the University, the position he now holds. During the decade from 1920 to 1930, Dr. Graham did graduate work at the Universities of Chicago, London, and Paris. In 1931, he received an Litt.D. degree from Columbia University. Also in 1931, he received LL.D. degrees from Birmingham Southern College and Davidson College. In 1932, he received LL.D. degrees from Duke University and from the College of William and Mary. He received a D.C.L. degree from Oatswe College in 1931.

Along with his work as an educator, Dr. Graham has been active in national affairs. Since becoming President of the University of North Carolina, he has served on the following bodies of national importance: Vice Chairman, National Consumers Advisory Board; Chairman, National Advisory Council on Social Security; Member, National Emergency Council; Twice President of the North Carolina Conference for Social Service; Founder, Citizens Liberation Movement; Member, President's Committee on Education; Member, United States Commission to Study Puerto Rico as a possible inter-American university; Chairman, the Industries Committee of American Railroads; President, North Carolina History and Literature Society; National Association College Writing Groups.

Dr. Graham was made a member of the National Defense Mediation Board when it was set up in March, 1941. He represented the public rather than industry or labor. In 1942, Dr. Graham was made a public member of the National War Labor Board which supplanted the National Defense Mediation Board in which he served during the war. ("Who's Who" 1946-47 "Current Biography" Rep of Chester Davis of Charlotte, dated 1-26-43.)

ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS

Sources have alleged that Dr. Frank Porter Graham has been very generous in allowing organizations espousing "liberal" goals to use his name as a sponsor. This tendency on his part has been said to lead to numerous charges that Dr. Graham is either affiliated with the Communist Party or sympathetic to

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Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-AM/MA  
#941072

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 08-01-80 BY 1045

100-23502-18

District No. 16, June, 1941. 100-23300.

many of the goals of the Communist Party. The same sources have stated that on the other hand, Dr. Graham has on several occasions been the target of attacks by [redacted] of the Communist Party, District Number 16, in the publication entitled "The Bulletin". According to these sources, these attacks were particularly violent during the period that the Communist Party was urging isolationism for America while Dr. Graham, as Southern Chairman for the Committee to Win the War by Aiding the Allies, vigorously fought for all-out aid to Britain and intervention against the Fascist powers. [redacted] b7C

[redacted] issued by [redacted] of Communist Party, the "Congressional Record - House" dated November 3, 1941, carries an article pertaining to the remarks by Honorable Leland M. Ford concerning "Communism Among Government Officials." On pages 8682 and 8683 the following pertinent remarks by Honorable Leland M. Ford were set forth: b7C

"I now turn my attention to the record of Frank P. Graham, Chairman of the Panel (National Defense Mediation Board) which heard the case of the Air Associates, Inc. I hold in my hand here the documentary proof of Frank P. Graham's affiliation with the following front organizations of the Communist Party: American League for Peace and Democracy, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Committee for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression, American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, American Friends of Spanish Democracy, Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, International Labor Defense, American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.

"While it is true that many innocent persons have been duped into joining or supporting the front organizations of the Communist Party, it can hardly be alleged that Frank P. Graham comes within that category. For many years, Dr. Graham has been a close student of political and social movements. It is unthinkable that he could be duped by the Communist tactics that are familiar to superficial students, not to mention those who have made a lifetime study of such things.

"I point out that Dr. Graham has associated himself with not less than ten front organizations of the Communist Party. To that extent, he has aided the Communist cause in this country. I do not charge that Graham is a Communist in the sense that he holds a party membership card or definitely subscribes to the Party's program. I simply let his record speak for itself, and I assert that no man would be allowed to hold office in this Government for one minute if he had a record of affiliation with ten Nazi or Fascist front organizations. In fact, no man would be entrusted with handling the important relations between labor and management if he had ever belonged to one Nazi front organization. Why, then, must we continue to turn the handling of these highly important relations over to men who have long records of affiliation with Communist front organizations?...

"The time is come for more of us to call a halt to the radical and racketeering leaders of the labor unions and to demand the prompt removal from Government office of their Allies who have infiltrated into official positions."

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An address entitled "Communism and Socialism" at Chapel Hill was delivered by David Clark before the Charlotte, North Carolina, Lions Club on August 12, 1940. In this address Mr. Clark, who is editor of the "Southern Textile Bulletin", made the statement that "The University of North Carolina is the only Southern institution at which there appears to have been a drive for converts or definite contacts with the Red Movement in the United States. In recent years the University of North Carolina has stood alone in the South as a haven for Reds and fifth columnists." Mr. Clark then went on to cite various examples of lecturers who had been permitted to appear at the University of North Carolina, mentioning among them Langston Hughes, Bertrand Russell, Michael Gold, and others whom he referred to as Communists or fifth columnists. In this address, Mr. Clark made the following references to Dr. Graham:

"President Frank Graham has admitted affiliation with the International Fellowship of Reconciliation which upon its letterhead declares that its members should aim at the replacement of capitalism by a system of collective ownership.... study the experiment of Soviet Russia in relation to the class struggle. In universities, schools, and the home, seek to establish in children and youth a mind set free enough to criticize the present social order..."

He further charged that Frank Graham, while a Professor of History, took an active interest in the textile strike at Gastonia, North Carolina, which was staged under Communist auspices and with the support of hired gunmen and thugs from Cincinnati and New York. He further charged that in the Spring of 1935, Dr. Graham sponsored the Summer School of Moscow University which was for the purpose of having American young men and young women go to Russia and sit at the feet of Soviet instructors. cut

An article appeared in the "Charlotte, North Carolina, News" dated May 12, 1940, by Tim Pridgen, Charlotte news staff writer. This article was entitled "Dr. Graham Says Communism Not Advocated by University Faculty." This article reflected that President Frank P. Graham of the University of North Carolina had declared that the University faculty members do not advocate Communism to their classes. He stated:

"Communism is not taught at the University of North Carolina except in the sense that it is part of the appropriate subject matter of some courses in all universities in the world. Even in these courses Communism is not advocated by the professors who give the courses, but it is analyzed and explained along with other economic systems and historic movements. I know of no American, Canadian, British, French, or Scandinavian university which fails to do this."

In connection with Dr. Graham's sponsoring of a summer school of American college students in Moscow in 1935 to permit the students to study Communist government in operation, he made the following statement:

"The summer school planned to be held at the University of Moscow in 1935 under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for Peace and International Education was forbidden by the Russian Government to be held. I was a member of the Advisory Committee, along with President Hutchins of Chicago,

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President Hailson of Smith College, and President Aydelotte of Swarthmore. The permanent committee in charge of setting up University study centers in all the principal capitals and University centers of the world to promote peace and international understanding was composed of such men as Dwight Morrow, Nicholas Murray Butler, and Director Duggan of the Carnegie Foundation for International Education. International Student Centers were established in London, Paris, Berlin, Rome, Vienna, and Geneva, but was forbidden in Moscow."

An outside source furnished the following statements and comments concerning the alleged activities of Dr. Graham for the period 1934 to 1942: This outside source is [redacted] 100-23300-14 Page 22-25. b2

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[redacted]

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(All above quotes from top page 4 came from [REDACTED])

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According to the "Daily Worker" of April 9, 1942, it was stated, "Dr. Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina and member of the War Mediation Board representing the public, has petitioned President Roosevelt for the release of Earl Browder from Atlanta Penitentiary."

Dr. Frank P. Graham is also connected with the following organizations:

Dr. Frank P. Graham was listed in a letterhead dated September 26, 1944, of the American Association for a Democratic Germany as being a member of its National Committee. The organization was formerly known as the American Friends of German Freedom. 100-304299-67

A letterhead dated February 9, 1939, lists Frank P. Graham as being a member of the Committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, New York City. 100-7559-113041

The "Daily Worker" for October 11, 1941, reveals that Dr. Frank P. Graham was one of the educators endorsing the Madison Square Meeting October 27, 1941, for the benefit of the Russian War Relief. 100-37226-A

The June, 1945, issue of the "Reasoner", official organ of the Virginia League for Peoples Education, carries an article under the title "Graham Outlines

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social Program for the South." This article reflects that Frank P. Graham had recently outlined a program which should have the initial support of progressive thinking Southerners while speaking before the University of Florida.

A letterhead dated September, 1943, of the National Committee on Conscientious Objectors organized by the American Civil Liberties Union reveals that Frank P. Graham is one of the sponsors of the organization. 25-247761A

A letterhead dated October 11, 1946, of the Committee on Educational Aid, "a national agency established to give financial and advisory aid to war objectors released from Civilian Public Service and prison who wish to continue their education" listed President Frank P. Graham, University of North Carolina, as honorary chairman. (100-113129-5) 25-247761A

An unknown outside source advised on November 22, 1946, that Dr. Frank P. Graham, President of the University of North Carolina, was listed as one of the directors of the Americans United for World Government, Incorporated. This source stated that this organization was formed in 1944, by a consolidation of the following organizations: Fight For Freedom, Citizens For Victory, Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, United Nations Association, American Free World Association, United Nations Committee for Greater New York. The general purpose of this organization is to establish world government through amendments to the United Nations Charter. An unknown outside source has stated that this organization has among its members Communists, liberals, labor leaders, bankers, editors, writers, actors, commentators, broadcasters, and religious leaders. (Anonymous letter dated 11-22-46. 100-343001-23)

The "Daily Worker" on August 11, 1945, carried an article reflecting that the Americans United for World Organization, also known as Americans United for World Government, urged President Truman to make no concessions to Japan which would continue the rule of Emperor Hirohito.

The "Daily Worker" on October 24, 1945 stated that the AUWO was one of twenty groups banded together to fight for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The "Daily Worker" on November 29, 1945, also carried an article concerning the subject organization's support of Representative De Lacy's resolution against intervention in China. (100-343001-23)

A pamphlet entitled "What To Do To Keep America Out Of The War" distributed by the Keep America Out of War Committee reveals that Dr. Frank P. Graham was one of the sponsors of the National Anti-War Congress held May 28-30, 1938, at Rialto Theater, Washington, D.C.

#### SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

In 1940 a bulletin entitled "The Fifth Column in the South" was published by the Constitutional Educational League, Inc. This bulletin deals at length with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. This bulletin reflected

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that Dr. Frank Graham, Moscow University Board member, was elected Chairman of the Conference for Human Welfare at the final session held in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1938. According to the bulletin, the Birmingham, Alabama, City Commission passed a resolution wherein it was stated that the "real object of the conference was a Left-Wing movement financed in whole or in part by Communists."

V Information was received from a confidential source that in January, 1941, Dr. Frank Graham, who was at that time Honorary Chairman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare had accused [redacted] together with Dr. [redacted] of using the name of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in behalf of an "apparently Communist-inspired meeting in New York" to oppose the National Defense Program, which program Dr. Graham had said had been adopted as a national policy by the members of the Executive Board of the Conference. According to the same confidential source, [redacted] referred to Dr. Graham as one of "some erstwhile liberals who flee in full retreat before war hysteria." (Highly confidential source - [redacted])  
[redacted]

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#### AMERICAN STUDENT UNION

On December 26, 1938, the "Daily Worker" carried an article in which the name of Frank P. Graham was listed as being among those persons expressing an interest in and good will toward the Fourth Annual Convention of the American Student Union which was held at the City College of New York from December 26-30, 1938.

The American Student Union was reported to have been infiltrated by Communist members. It is not in existence at the present time.

#### AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

Dr. Graham's name appeared in the March 18, 1939, issue of "New Masses" magazine among the signers of a statement sponsored by the American League for Peace and Democracy to promote unity of action between the Soviet Union and several other countries, including the United States.

This organization was declared to be subversive by the Attorney General.

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NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS WEEK

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Dr. Frank P. Graham was shown in 1941 as being Chairman of the National Committee and literature of the organization announcing National Sharecroppers Week in March, 1942, listed Dr. Graham as a member of the Committee of Sponsors.

The proceeds of the National Sharecroppers Week of March 4-10, 1940, was to be used for the benefit of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRACY AND INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM

The publication of this organization dated 1938 states that the purpose of this organization was to "rally scientists and educators to active participation in the struggle to preserve and extend our democratic institutions."

"The American Committee News Service for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom," issue #5, dated April 15, 1940, showed President Frank P. Graham as a member of the organization.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

In August, 1940, Dr. Frank Graham was listed as a sponsor of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in a pamphlet by Vito Marcantonio entitled "The Registration of Aliens."

According to the testimony of Walter Steele before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Mr. Steele stated that the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born defends the Communist Party as a "legal" Party and "resents the deportation and withholding of citizenship to aliens belonging to it."

SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH CONGRESS

Dr. Frank P. Graham was listed as a sponsor for the Fifth All-Southern Negro Youth Congress entitled "Negro Youth Fighting for America." It has been reported on several occasions that the Southern Negro Youth Congress has followed the Communist Party line. Reportedly the Southern Negro Youth Congress in April, 1941, adopted a resolution opposing all war effort except actual national defense, but that after the Nazi invasion of Russia in June, 1941, it advocated all out aid to Great Britain, China, and Russia.

NATIONAL STUDENT FEDERATION OF AMERICA  
INTERNATIONAL STUDENT SERVICE

According to an official of the National Student Federation of America, Dr. Frank P. Graham was a member of the Board of Advisers of the organization

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during the years 1940 to 1942. According to a handbook entitled "The Student Service Fund", this organization came into being in September, 1940, and was sponsored by the United States sections of the International Students Service and the United States Student Christian Federation organizations, cooperating with the World Student Service Fund. This handbook listed Frank P. Graham as one of the sponsors of the World Student Service Fund.

#### RUSSIAN WAR RELIEF

On October 10, 1941, a full page advertisement of the Russian War Relief, Inc., 535 Fifth Avenue, New York City, appeared in the "New York Times." This advertisement was captioned "These Eminent Americans Ask Your Help on Behalf of the Russian People." The name of Dr. Frank P. Graham was listed as one of the persons sponsoring the appeal.

#### PETITION FOR RELEASE OF EARL BROWDER

The "Daily Worker" for April 9, 1942, carried the following article: "Mediation Board Member in Browder Plea - Dr. Frank Graham, Head North Carolina University, Petitions FDR." This article reflected the following statement:

"Dr. Frank P. Graham, President of the University of North Carolina and member of the War Mediation Board, representing the public, has petitioned President Roosevelt for the release of Earl Browder from Atlanta Penitentiary where he has already served more than one year of his four-year sentence, the Citizen's Committee to Free Earl Browder revealed yesterday...."

It was further reported that Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, gave a talk over Radio Station WFDR at Baltimore, Maryland, on May 1, 1942, wherein she stated that the Communists, together with over three million trade unionists and other citizens of all political persuasion, had addressed petitions to President Franklin D. Roosevelt appealing to him to exercise executive clemency in the case of Earl Browder, then in Atlanta prison. Miss Flynn mentioned that Dr. Frank P. Graham of the University of North Carolina was among those who had appealed to the President to exercise executive clemency stating that "The men making this appeal disavow any agreement with the political views of Earl Browder, but they do feel strongly that he should be released and have so expressed their views."

A circular letter was issued in May, 1942, by the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder which contained a list of "prominent Americans who favor Presidential clemency for the release of Earl Browder." The name of Dr. Frank P. Graham was among those listed.

A pamphlet was issued by the Michigan Free Browder Congress announcing a meeting for June 7, 1942, at Detroit, Michigan. This pamphlet quotes Dr. Frank P. Graham, President of the University of North Carolina and member of the War Mediation Board, as stating the following:

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"In this great world emergency it would not only be an act of American justice and fair play to free Earl Browder...but would contribute in welding that unity of 130 million Americans so necessary to assure the final destruction of Nazi tyranny."

#### NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH THE POLL TAX

Literature issued by the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, Washington, D.C., dated November 12, 1942, and requesting financial support, listed Dr. Frank P. Graham as a sponsor of the organization. *just*

#### SOUTHERN ELECTORAL REFORM LEAGUE

In January, 1943, material concerning the Southern Electoral Reform League, Richmond, Virginia, revealed that this League was organized in Richmond on February 1, 1941. Its purpose was to abolish the poll tax in eight Southern states as a prerequisite to voting and to work for a more democratic election procedure in general. Dr. Frank P. Graham was listed as a member of the General Board of the League. *just*

Information has been received that [redacted] of the Communist Party in the State of Virginia, has been active in the affairs of the Southern Electoral Reform League. b7C

#### PREVIOUS WAR DEPARTMENT STAND ON COMMUNISTS

The "Daily Worker" for March 18, 1945, carried an article entitled "War Department Stand on Communists Hailed by Notables in All Walks of Life." The article stated:

"National unity will be immeasurably advanced by the Army's recent order that Communists and alleged Communists are eligible for officers' commissions, said several hundred nationally noted educators, Negro, labor, and civic leaders last week." *OK*

This article carried a photograph of Frank P. Graham, who was among the signers of the statement. This statement was circulated by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, which organization has been declared to be subversive by the Attorney General.

#### COMMONWEALTH COLLEGE, MENA, ARKANSAS

The Commonwealth College at Mena, Arkansas, was closed on September 21, 1940, by State authorities in Arkansas when a warrant charging anarchy was served on Nathan Osar, Director of the College. Commonwealth College was well and commonly known as a Communist institution.

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Letters and telegrams from all parts of the United States were directed to Governor Carl E. Bailey of Arkansas protesting the action of Prosecuting Attorney J.F. Quillen, Mena, Arkansas, in closing Commonwealth College. One of these communications of protest was from Frank P. Graham, President of the University of North Carolina.

#### SOUTHERN SCHOOL FOR WORKERS, INC.

A letterhead dated January 13, 1943, for the above organization reflects that Dr. Frank P. Graham was carried as a member of the Advisory Committee of that organization. Information reveals that the Southern School for Workers is sponsored by the Virginia Workers Educational Conference. It is reported that the Southern School for Workers has been infiltrated by the Communist Party.

#### ANTI-FRANCO ACTIVITY

As reported previously herein, Dr. Graham was active in organizations which oppose the present Franco Regime in Spain. According to the "Daily Worker" for April 18, 1946, a group of eight national organizations submitted a memorandum to the United Nations Security Council proving Franco a menace to peace and demanding action to oust Fascism from Spain and the restoration of the Republic. This memorandum, according to the "Daily Worker", was signed by several well-known individuals including Dr. Frank P. Graham, President of the University of North Carolina.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

An individual who has known Dr. Frank P. Graham for over twenty years has stated that Dr. Graham for many years has been a somewhat controversial figure in North Carolina. He has many friends in nearly all walks of life who believe in him to the utmost; at the same time there have been numerous people who have come out in opposition to him in the past and have been critical of his activities. The more serious opposition to Dr. Graham has been levelled at alleged radicalism on his part. He has been accused from time to time of being a Communist sympathizer and to have permitted the University to become a hotbed of radical activities. (SAC, Schedit, New York, formerly SAC, Charlotte 100-23300-14)

A reliable citizen of Charlotte, North Carolina, who has known Dr. Frank Graham for twenty years stated that he was a great liberal with a sincere and eloquent belief in Democracy and with a deep sympathy for the underprivileged. (SAC, Schedit, New York, formerly SAC, Charlotte)

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On July 23, 1931, Dr. Graham, in a speech before the North Carolina Press Association at Moorehead City, North Carolina, made the following statement illustrative of his attitude toward Russian Communism:

"Dictatorships encroach upon the ideas and procedures of democracies all over the world, whether Fascism in Italy, Bolshevism in Russia, the war lords in China, or the special interests in the United States. The private interests would cut down on the equal opportunities of the people." (Copy of above speech, University of N. C. Library.)

On August 28, 1935, President Graham made the following statement concerning the possibilities of a proletariat dictatorship in the United States while addressing the Williamstown Institute of Human Relations at Williamstown, Massachusetts:

"This country is unsuited to a political dictatorship of either the Communist or Fascist form....both the British and American tradition, even in the present political climate of emergency, make a poor environment for a political dictatorship." "Can Democracy survive in the modern world." by Dr. Frank Porter Graham, School Publication Univ of N. C.

Through a reliable source it has been ascertained that in April, 1941, Dr. Frank P. Graham stated that he had never been a member of the Communist Party, and that he did not believe in the principles and activities of the Communist Party, and that on more than one occasion he had clashed with those who had been suspected of following the Communist Party lines. Dr. Graham further stated that on occasion he had been called a spokesman for the capitalists by Communists, and that he had been called a Communist by some reactionary industrialists. Dr. Graham stated that he was an independent Southern democrat whose political, economic, and social platforms are included within Christianity and democracy. He stated that as Vice-Chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, he was called a war-monger and other names for this stand.

With regard to being a member of the University of Moscow Board of Trustees, Dr. Graham stated that the closest he has ever been to Moscow is France. He stated that after America recognized Russia, Moscow was included in the program of international education and understanding. However, the Soviet Government had prevented the carrying out of the project at Moscow.

With regard to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Dr. Graham stated that it may be true that a handful of Communists attempted to make it a transmission belt, but the overwhelming majority "of us" have stuck by the Southern Conference to prevent such a misuse of the Conference and to carry out its real purpose in American democratic ways in behalf of justice to organized labor, tenant farmers, Negroes, unorganized workers, and the forgotten millions. Dr. Graham said that he had been assured by those who have checked the rolls that there are not more than a dozen Communists out of twelve hundred members, and regardless of claims, twelve can hardly dominate twelve hundred.

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Dr. Graham further stated:

"I realize that in the many stands which I have taken in my own South in the midst of tense social situations I have been called a Negrophile in attempting, along with an increasingly large number of our Southern people, to be fair to the Negro, and in the midst of strikes I have been called a tool of the capitalists by the Communists and a tool of the Communists by the capitalists. To those who know me I do not have to say that I am neither."

(Unless otherwise indicated, information set forth above came from Bureau file #62-81968-2) which is a summary prepared October 7, 1946 for the Attorney General pertaining to proposed members for an Advisory Board Civil Rights.)

(Copy of letter, address deleted, handed to SA [ ] on June 16, 1943 b7C when Dr. Graham was interviewed relative to Hatch Act investigation. This letter according to Dr. Graham's statement is his political views.)

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## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Harbo *PH*

FROM : Mr. Sizoo *PH*

SUBJECT: FRANK PORTER GRAHAM  
C. B. BALWIN  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE February 28, 1948

Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

b7C

On February 26, 1948, I received a telephone call from Mrs. [redacted] who is [redacted] concerning the above named individuals. Mrs. [redacted] advised that she attended a meeting of the United Nations a few weeks ago and obtained a report submitted by the Indonesian Mission of which Frank Porter Graham was designated as chairman. She advised that Graham was formerly head of either North or South Carolina University and that she understands he is a leftist in his thinking. In this connection she advised that she recently received, through error on the part of the post office, an invitation to a luncheon sponsored by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. She indicated the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist controlled organization. Mrs. [redacted] forwarded the invitation to me for inclusion in the Bureau's files, calling particular attention to the fact that Mr. Frank Graham is the honorary president. She also considered that one who was affiliated with an organization such as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare should not be in charge of the Indonesian Mission for the United Nations and wished to call our attention to this fact for such handling as we might consider appropriate.

At the same time, Mrs. [redacted] also called attention to the fact that Mr. C. B. Baldwin is on the New York Committee for the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and that Mr. Baldwin was sent by the Army as an adviser to General Mac Arthur. Mrs. [redacted] commented that she thought the Army had made a serious mistake in sending a man like Mr. Baldwin as adviser to General Mac Arthur in Tokyo, and thought the Bureau would want to advise Army authorities of Mr. Baldwin's connection with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

The invitation which Mrs. [redacted] forwarded is attached.

RECOMMENDATIONS: That this memorandum be referred to the Security Division.

JAS:d11

46

*discussed with*  
*JB 3/24/48*  
*PH*

52 MAR 25 1948

RECEIVED CONTAINED  
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 5/3/2001 BY SP-6 AM/...

62-23304-19  
 B I  
 MAR 12 1948  
 126

on this  
envelope  
and inside

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DATE 5/8/2001 BY SP2 Alm/lmf

100-23300-19  
ENCLOSURE

b7C

100-23300-19

Mrs.

I am enclosing my check herewith in the amount of \$.....  
to cover ..... reservations for the luncheon of the Southern  
Conference for Human Welfare in honor of Dr. Gene Weltfish  
and Professor Ruth Benedict to be held on Tuesday, March 16,  
1948, at the Hotel Astor.

Name .....

Address .....

Cover \$3.75

Please make checks payable to the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR  
HUMAN WELFARE, 58 Park Avenue. Tel. MU 3-3913.

Please list names of persons contained.

303

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 5/2/00 BY SP2 ELM/mc**

---

## GUESTS

Name.....

Address.....

Name.....

Address.....

Name.....

Address.....

Name.....

Address.....

Name.....

Address.....

Name.....

Address.....

Name.....

Address.....

Name.....

Address.....

Name.....

Address.....



HENRY SAYS:

"Sensible people should stop kicking each other around  
and apply their boots to the seats of the ugly Green  
Devils of prejudice, stupidity and hate."

THE NEW YORK COMMITTEE  
OF THE  
SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE  
HONORS  
DR. GENE WELTFISH AND PROF. RUTH BENEDICT  
AUTHORS OF  
"IN HENRY'S BACKYARD"  
AT A LUNCHEON  
ON  
TUESDAY, MARCH 16, 1948, AT TWELVE-THIRTY P.M.  
ASTOR HOTEL  
NEW YORK CITY

Please Reply  
Enclosed Card

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/12/01 BY SP2 BLM/MLC**

Cover \$3.75

100-233 00-19

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FRANKLIN H. WILLIAMS  
J. FINLEY WILSON

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MRS. ELINOR S. GIMBEL

DR. GENE WELTFISH

PROFESSOR RUTH BENEDICT

### *The Mariners Quartet*

JAMES O. LEWIS      THOMAS LOCKARD  
MARTIN KARL      NATHANIEL DICKERSON

*judicious for the  
social committee  
meet with representatives*

**SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE**  
808 Perdido Street, New Orleans, La.

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HON. HENRY A. WALLACE  
PALMER WEBER

5164

[Redacted Address Box]

b7C

P. O. BOX 2187  
SAN ANTONIO 6, TEXAS

April 1, 1949

Re: Dr. Frank M. Graham

24-1

Governor W. Kerr Scott  
Raleigh, North Carolina

My dear Governor Scott:

Your appointment of Dr. Frank P. Graham as Junior U. S. Senator of North Carolina to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Honorable J. Malville Broughton who died March 6 must have been alluring news for the Communists in the U.S.A., the Kremlin and throughout the world.

Prior to this appointment Fulton Lewis, Jr., the great American Commentator, had for days prior and subsequently been telling his millions of radio listening audience about this man Graham and his connections, past and present with Communists—and Communist organizations. Moreover Graham was a member of Truman's Civil Rights Committee. Anyone who studies that committee with their Left Wing, New Deal, C.I.O., Communist, Unamerican followings should reveal enough said—without elaboration.

Millions of real Americans would like to learn and to know all about the F.B.I.'s report on Dr. Graham before his appointment is confirmed by the U.S. Senate; otherwise the appointment should be denied overwhelmingly.

*Handwritten:* This is a copy of the report of the F.B.I. on Dr. Graham. It is a very interesting and revealing document. It shows that Dr. Graham is a man of many talents and a great leader. It is a shame that he is being appointed to the U.S. Senate without a full hearing.

In the face of that appointment Mr. Truman could not refrain from congratulating you upon your appointment of said Dr. Graham as U.S. Senator from North Carolina. Mr. Truman would do that.

Anyone who is up for any position in our Government where the report of the F.B.I. on such person is denied or shielded by Mr. Truman or the U.S. Justice Department to any Congressional Committee or the U.S. House or Senate, then such appointment should be denied without further consideration.

*Handwritten:* This is a copy of the report of the F.B.I. on Dr. Graham. It is a very interesting and revealing document. It shows that Dr. Graham is a man of many talents and a great leader. It is a shame that he is being appointed to the U.S. Senate without a full hearing.

Why spend Billions of hard pressed American tax payers money abroad for the supposed purpose of fighting and stopping Communists when the Communists are allowed to run "hog-wild" in our U.S.A. and many times have been shielded or protected by those occupying high places in Government. For the F.B.I. report there are nearly a million of them in our U.S.A. including their "standby" supporters many of them are in the U.S.A.

*Vertical text on left margin:* No Action (See 100-742208) Copy

6-8-59

[Redacted Stamp]

EX-125

RECORDED - 66  
INDEXED - 66

APR 30 1949

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58 APR 27 1949

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P. O. BOX 2187  
SAN ANTONIO 6, TEXAS

b7C

Governor W. Kerr Scott, April 1, 1949

Page 2

colleges, schools, churches, etc., which Truman termed a "Red Herring" when directly or indirectly referring to the House Unamerican Committee's work. Why did Mr. Truman do that? Please let me know, Gov. Scott.

Anyway, Westbrook Pegler through his syndicated articles read by millions daily is now, and has been telling Mr. Truman with "knockout" punches which Mr. Truman does not deny. See enclosed Pegler's article March 30, 1949.

Having been born and reared in North Carolina, where I have a number of real American relations and friends, caused me to bow my head in shame when I learned of your appointing Dr. Graham to fill the vacancy as U.S. Senator in North Carolina when there were many good, true, American men and women in North Carolina you could have appointed whose American loyalty is unquestioned. It did console me in believing that through such an unfortunate act you may have eliminated yourself from future public office in North Carolina when your present term as Governor expires.

Yours very truly,

b7C

b7C

☐lee

P.S.—In behalf of decency, gentility, our youth and christianity I never have, and never will write anyone, or call anyone—in any public address an S.O.B.

C.C. to:

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Mr. Westbrook Pegler  
Mr. Fulton Lewis, Jr.  
Dr. Frank P. Graham  
President Harry S. Truman  
Also an unstated number of U.S. Senators and Congressmen.

C  
O  
P  
Y

Mr. D. M. Ladd

October 3, 1951

L. L. Laughlin

FRANK PORTER GRAHAM  
SECURITY MATTER-C

DO NOT DISSEMINATE

PURPOSE:

To set forth testimony in volume 35 given by [redacted] before an executive session of a sub-Committee of the McCarran Committee held on May 18, 1951. This data was confidentially provided to the Bureau and should not be incorporated into reports or disseminated outside the Bureau, including the Department, without prior authority of the McCarran Committee.

TESTIMONY: Executive - Confidential session 5-18-1951 not subject to FOIA . b7C

The McCarran Committee questioned [redacted] concern-  
ing [redacted]

FILE REVIEW:

The activities of Frank P. Graham, former President of the University of North Carolina, and former U.S. Senator, are well known to the Bureau. Bureau files contain more detailed and complete information concerning his interest in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and from the testimony there appears to be no close association between Graham and [redacted] (100-23300)

ACTION:

The original transcript of testimony (volume 35) was returned to the McCarran Committee on June 15, 1951. Photostatic copies of the

62-88217

100-61714

100-23300

100-23300

57 OCT 18 1951

100-23300-  
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55 OCT 10 1951  
INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-23300-88217

testimony have been filed in the McGowan Control file (62-88217)  
and in the [REDACTED] b7C

RECOMMENDATION:

That no further investigation be conducted to develop the  
closeness of the association between [REDACTED] and Frank P.  
Graham.

b7C

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: DR. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM

DATE: October 16, 1951

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_

Ladd \_\_\_\_\_

Clegg \_\_\_\_\_

Glavin \_\_\_\_\_

Nichols \_\_\_\_\_

Rosen \_\_\_\_\_

Tracy \_\_\_\_\_

Harbo \_\_\_\_\_

Belmont \_\_\_\_\_

Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

Nease \_\_\_\_\_

Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

PURPOSE:

To furnish information concerning Dr. Frank Porter Graham pursuant to a request from the White House.

BACKGROUND:

b7C Mr. [ ] of the White House on October 11, 1951, requested that Mr. [ ] make available information from Bureau files concerning Dr. Frank Porter Graham, former Senator from North Carolina and former President of the University of North Carolina.

In accordance with Mr. [ ] request, there are attached: (1) copies of five reports prepared in connection with previous Internal Security - Hatch Act and Atomic Energy Act - Employee type investigations of Dr. Graham and (2) a blind memorandum containing pertinent supplemental information.

SCOPE OF SEARCH:

The name of Frank Porter Graham received a six-way search in Bureau indices and all references subsequent to March 7, 1947, the date of a summary memorandum located in a main file on Doctor Graham, (100-23300), were reviewed. Dr. Graham's fingerprints were searched through the criminal files of the Identification Division, and no arrest record was found.

INFORMATION IN BUREAU FILES:Bureau Investigations:

Dr. Graham was the subject of an Internal Security - Hatch Act investigation initiated in November, 1942, (100-23300). The investigation was based upon information that Dr. Graham, who was a member of the National War Labor Board at that time, was listed

DRR:mkf:dm

RECORDED - 22

INDEXED - 22

OCT 22 1951

COPIES DESTROYED

in the active indices of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, and was considered a Federal employee within the purview of Public Law No. 644, 77th Congress, by the Office of the Attorney General. A closing report in this case was submitted by the Washington Field Office as office of origin on August 10, 1943.

The investigation developed that Dr. Graham was associated with numerous liberal-type organizations, including several presently listed as within the purview of Executive Order No. 9835. No evidence was developed, however, which would indicate he was a member of or was in any way affiliated with the Communist Party. To the contrary, it was determined Dr. Graham took an opposite stand to the Communist Party line on many issues, and was attacked publicly by known Communists for his expressions in those instances.

The Interdepartmental Committee on Employee Investigations, on December 11, 1943, advised the National War Labor Board would take no administrative action in the case of Dr. Graham.

\* In September, 1947, Dr. Graham became the subject of an Atomic Energy Act - Employee investigation (116-30356) in view of his employment as President of The Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies, Incorporated, Oak Ridge, Tennessee. Investigation was conducted by the Knoxville, Charlotte, and Washington Field Offices in this matter, and all reports were submitted by November 1, 1947.

\* The investigation developed substantially the same information as was reported in the afore-mentioned Internal Security - Hatch Act matter. On December 20, 1948, the Atomic Energy Commission publicly announced their clearance of Dr. Graham for access to restricted data. It is to be noted the clearance was reportedly given Dr. Graham by Mr. David E. Lilienthal, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, over the objections of the Security Advisory Board of the Commission, headed by Owen J. Roberts, former Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and of Rear Admiral John Gingrich, the Commission's Staff Security Officer.

In March, 1948, the State Department submitted to the Bureau a Loyalty Form in connection with Dr. Graham's appointment as United States representative on a United Nations Security Council Committee in the Indonesian dispute. In view of the previous intensive investigations conducted concerning Dr. Graham, no loyalty investigation was instituted; however, information developed previously was summarized and returned on the back of the Loyalty Form.

PREVIOUS REQUEST FOR INFORMATION CONCERNING DR. GRAHAM:

On August 10, 1948, Mr. [ ] requested of Mr. [ ] that the Bureau make available to him investigative reports on Dr. Graham, who was then being considered for a Presidential appointment. At that time, Mr. [ ] requested only the reports submitted in the Atomic Energy Act investigation concerning Dr. Graham, which reports were delivered to him and subsequently returned to the Bureau on August 19, 1948. Mr. [ ] confidentially informed Mr. [ ] when the reports were being delivered that Dr. Graham was being considered by the President for an appointment to the Presidential Committee on Race Discrimination in the Armed Forces. b7C b7C

DR. GRAHAM'S PAST RELATIONS WITH THE BUREAU:

In January and February, 1942, friendly letters were exchanged between yourself and Dr. Graham in connection with the Institute of Government, a self-governing division of the University of North Carolina.

In a memorandum to you from Mr. Clegg dated March 28, 1942, regarding consideration of Dr. Graham for the faculty of the FBI National Police Academy, Mr. Clegg advised that he had attended a meeting the previous year at the University of North Carolina, at which time he appeared on the program with Dr. Graham and Congressman McCormack of Massachusetts. Mr. Clegg stated that both Congressman McCormack and Dr. Graham were profuse in their praise of the FBI, but that Dr. Graham "could not be found to have taken any positive action favorable to the Bureau other than in this particular speech."

It is to be noted that Dr. Graham was not approached in connection with the afore-mentioned Academy faculty position.

SAC Scheidt advised in 1942 that he had known Dr. Graham quite well for over twenty years, and stated that he had the highest confidence in Dr. Graham's integrity and ability. He added, however, that Dr. Graham was a somewhat controversial figure in North Carolina, due for the most part to his alleged radicalism. In 1943, SAC Scheidt pointed out that Agents of the Charlotte Office had frequent contacts with Dr. Graham "whose cooperative attitude has been marked in giving information from school records to Bureau Agents," and that friendly relations existed between Dr. Graham and that office.

You will recall that on February 13, 1950, when you returned Dr. Graham's call, he advised that he had brought a message from Mr. [redacted] of the State Bureau of Investigation, Raleigh, North Carolina, that [redacted] was 100 per cent back of the Bureau and Dr. Graham, who was then serving as Senator from North Carolina, stated he was calling to say the same thing.

b7C

RECOMMENDATIONS:

That the attached copies of reports and memorandum be returned to the Correlation-Liaison Unit, after approval, for delivery to Mr. [redacted] by Mr. [redacted]

b7C

V. J.

OK.  
H.

b7C

## SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Graham Frank PorterSupervisor DEC 22 1954 Room \_\_\_\_\_R# 111 Date 11/19 Searcher Initial J-11FILE NUMBER 10-16-51 SERIAL \_\_\_\_\_I 100-23300 DEC 22 1954I 116-30356SE 171-28654I 100-23300 - 21 Summ 10/16/51SE 62-81968-1 Summ 10/7/46I 100-23300 - 7 Summ 7/15/42I 100-23300 - 12 Summ 5/27/43I 100-23300 - 18 Summ 3/7/42NP 101-1298-20

Frank P

SE 100-413100I 94-41989SE 100-346322 21 p 11I 65-49812-260 p 14SE 61-7582-1 p 16SE 100-408851-1SE 140-5584-3 p 17ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/1/80 BY SP8 RMT/V

## SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Graham Frank Porter

Supervisor \_\_\_\_\_ Room \_\_\_\_\_

R# 16 Date 4/17 Searcher Initial J-11FILE NUMBERSERIALFrank P.

<del>NR</del>	<del>121-36454-7</del>	
<del>NR</del>	<del>100-64780-998 incl p4139</del>	
<del>NR</del>	<del>1004 p101, 104</del>	
<del>NR</del>	<del>100-322409-255 incl p21</del>	
<del>NR</del>	<del>105-15893-403 incl p23</del>	
<del>NR</del>	<del>100-226223-5 p7</del>	
<del>NR</del>	<del>100-17428-1817 incl p10</del>	<del>ROOM 4730</del>
<del>NR</del>	<del>100-385355-A - Wash News Scan</del>	
		<u>5/25/54</u>
<del>NR</del>	<del>100-28120-62</del>	
<del>NR</del>	<del>123-12430-20</del>	
<del>NR</del>	<del>101-4585-133 incl p55</del>	
<del>NR</del>	<del>100-190625-3758</del>	
<del>NR</del>	<del>116-364104-19</del>	
<del>NR</del>	<del>46-12710-9</del>	
<del>NR</del>	<del>100-28500</del>	
<del>NR</del>	<del>62-88217-225</del>	

## SEARCH SLIP

Subj:

Graham Frank Porter

Supervisor

Room

R#

16

Date

12/17

Searcher

Initial

S-11FILE NUMBERSERIALFrank P.10-11-21ND138-0-8921-41ND121-33555-23ND124-7467-6ND100-383192-3FrankND100-18547-52 R512ND100-28120-62 R512ND116-180493-20ND121-44387-2ND124-6940-6ND124-9467-6ND100-383838-6ND100-394-62-1ND100-0-30087

## SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Graham, Frank Porter

Supervisor \_\_\_\_\_ Room \_\_\_\_\_

R# 16 Date 12.17 Searcher Initial JSFILE NUMBERSERIALFrank Porter~~123-12430-11~~~~Frank P~~~~61-7582-1811~~~~100-413100  
100-408851-1~~~~140-5584-3~~~~65-49812-260p14~~~~100-246322-21p11  
100-23300~~~~122-88219-885~~~~46-7710-9~~~~116-362100-19~~~~140-190625-3958~~~~101-4585-133p35~~~~100-28120-62~~~~123-12430-20~~~~100-64900-100p104~~~~100-283355A Want info from~~~~3-257-54~~

## SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Graham, Frank Porter

Supervisor \_\_\_\_\_ Room \_\_\_\_\_

R# 16 Date 2-17 Searcher Initial S. 25

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

Room

FILE NUMBER	SERIAL	Room
<del>100-17828-1817</del>	<del>4730</del>	<del>p10</del>
<del>100-826223-5</del>		<del>p7</del>
<del>100-15893-403</del>		<del>p12</del>
<del>121-9467-6</del>		
<del>121-33535-23</del>		
<del>138-0-89</del>		<del>p41</del>
<del>100-38372-3</del>		
<del>100-372409-255</del>		<del>p16</del>
<del>100-64740-1006</del>		<del>p101, 998</del>
<del>100-1139</del>		
<del>121-36454-7</del>		
Frank		
<del>100-0-30087</del>		
<del>100-394562-1</del>		
<del>100-388633-1</del>		
<del>100-344208-10</del>		
<del>138-2116-1x15</del>		

## SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Healson, Frank Porter

Supervisor \_\_\_\_\_ Room \_\_\_\_\_

R# 16 Date 12-17 Searcher Initial 8 25FILE NUMBERSERIALFrank

~~NY~~ 105-11929-41 p32  
~~NY~~ 100-394352-2  
~~SI~~ 62-88217-225, 361 p16  
~~NY~~ 121-41369-2  
~~NY~~ 138-549-35  
~~NY~~ 121-42036-3  
~~SI~~ 121-36294-16  
~~NY~~ 65-33599-73 p122-32  
~~NY~~ 100-394450-1  
~~NY~~ 100-344208-10  
~~NY~~ 100-388632-1  
~~NY~~ 100-394562-1  
~~SN.I~~ 100-392452-58 p73  
~~NR~~ 100-356921-30  
~~SI~~ 62-88217-225  
~~SI~~ 100-64700-1205 p1574

## SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Graham, Frank Parker

Supervisor \_\_\_\_\_ Room \_\_\_\_\_

R# 16 Date 12-17 Searcher Initial S-25FILE NUMBERSERIALFrank~~SI~~ 133-193-6~~NR~~ 100-16-27-206 p5,6~~NR~~ 187 p12, 101 NR~~SI~~ 105-24330-A WP. 8.13.53~~NR~~ 62-98784-119 p159~~NR~~ 144-6194-4~~SI~~ 62-88217-225J PNR

October 13, 1951

## DOCTOR FRANK PORTER GRAHAM

Attached are five reports as listed below which reflect the results of previous investigation by this Bureau concerning Doctor Graham:

b7C

1. Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated January 20, 1943, at Charlotte, North Carolina.
2. Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated August 10, 1943, at Washington, D. C.
3. Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated October 14, 1947, at Knoxville, Tennessee.
4. Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated October 23, 1947, at Washington, D. C.
5. Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated November 1, 1947, at Charlotte, North Carolina.

b7C

b7C

Information contained in the following paragraphs has been received by the Bureau subsequent to the preparation of the above-mentioned reports.

ASSOCIATION WITH COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS

A confidential informant of known reliability advised in March, 1940, that [redacted] Communist Party, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, in speaking of Doctor Graham, described Graham as a former friend. [redacted] allegedly stated, however, that since the late Doctor Graham had taken a very snobbish attitude and had broken away from his wartime practice of supporting liberal movements in the nation.

b7C

Mr. Tolson [redacted] active, paid, reliable, 100-30-123, p 16;  
 Mr. Ladd [redacted]  
 Mr. Clegg [redacted]  
 Mr. Glavin [redacted]  
 Mr. Nichols [redacted]  
 Mr. Rosen [redacted]  
 Mr. Tracy [redacted]  
 Mr. Harbo [redacted]  
 Mr. Belmont [redacted]  
 Mr. Mohr [redacted]  
 Tele. Room [redacted]  
 Mr. Nease [redacted]  
 Miss Gandy [redacted]

The New York Journal-American, dated March 24, 1940, contained an article by William P. Flythe concerning a demand

ORIGINAL TO WHITE HOUSE

Summary copied, dated and sent to H.E.W. on 1-3-55 re n/c from them on subject. List of people also sent.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 9/20/01 BY SP8 DMH/HK

in the Senate for an investigation of the Atomic Energy Commission's loyalty clearance of Doctor Frank P. Graham, just appointed Senator from North Carolina. Senator Jenner (R. Indiana) reportedly read from the records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities the list of Doctor Graham's affiliations and declared, "No one questions that Doctor Graham is a good man but the records of the Un-American Activities Committee and the FBI." He is further quoted as having stated, "No one believes that Doctor Graham is a Communist but he has been soft to Communists."

The article reflected that Senator Bricker (R. Ohio) pointed out the appointment was made by Chairman David E. Lilienthal after the Atomic Energy Commission's Security Officer Admiral John Gingrich and a Loyalty Review Board had refused to approve the clearance. (100-23300-A)

#### AFFILIATION WITH CITED GROUPS

##### National Council Against Conscription

The National Council Against Conscription has been cited by the California Committee on Un-American Activities in their 1948 report (page 313) as a "Communist front organized for the purpose of attracting many good citizens --- who are against war."

In a full report issued by the above Committee on March 25, 1948, Frank Porter Graham is listed as a (former) Honorary President of the Council and is described as a member of Communist organizations. (62-82328-47)

##### Southern Conference for human welfare

The Southern Conference for human welfare has been cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in a report dated March 29, 1944, (page 147), as a Communist front which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

The Greensboro Daily News, Greensboro, North Carolina, issue of November 30, 1947, contained an article concerning the annual convention of the Committee for North Carolina, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, held November 29, 1947. The article stated Doctor Graham had been elected Vice-President of the Committee.

(100-10355-307)

The information contained in the attached reports and in the foregoing paragraphs is furnished to you as a result of your request for a check of our files and is not to be construed as a clearance or nonclearance of the individual involved. This information is furnished for your confidential use only.

Attachment

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Nease	_____
Andy	_____
	_____

MAILED

G.I.R. 2

JAN 4 1955

January 3, 1955

DOCTOR FRANK PORTER GRAHAM

Attached are five reports as listed below which reflect the results of previous investigation by this Bureau concerning Doctor Graham:

- b7C 1. Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated January 20, 1949, at Charlotte, North Carolina.
- b7C 2. Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated August 10, 1943, at Washington, D. C.
- b7C 3. Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated October 14, 1947, at Knoxville, Tennessee.
- b7C 4. Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated October 23, 1947, at Washington, D. C.
- b7C 5. Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated November 1, 1947, at Charlotte, North Carolina.

Information contained in the following paragraphs has been received by the Bureau subsequent to the preparation of the above-mentioned reports.

RECORDED - 47

ASSOCIATION WITH COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS

b7C

INDEXED - 47

100-23300-22

A confidential informant of known reliability advised in March, 1949, that [redacted] District 29, Communist Party, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, in speaking of Doctor Graham, described Graham as a former friend. [redacted] allegedly stated, however, that since the war Doctor Graham had taken a very snobbish attitude and had broken away from his wartime practice of supporting liberal movements in the nation.

b7C

13 JAN 4 1955

b7C

b7D

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Boardman \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_
- Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment

Note:

[redacted] active, paid, reliable, 100-30-123, p. 16

Orig. to HEW

Reg Rec'd: 12-17-54

[redacted] tar Tan

The attached reports have previously been furnished to the White House, HEW, [redacted] AEC, Int. Dept. Comm. The information obtained subsequent to the inv as set forth in this memo has been furnished to the White House on October 16/54.

b2

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/1/00 BY SP4 AM/mt

14 JAN 10 1955

b7C

LNC  
DRK

Frank Porter Graham Summary

CONTROVERSY OVER DOCTOR GRAHAM'S CLEARANCE TO RESTRICTED  
DATA GRANTED BY CHAIRMAN DAVID E. LILIENTHAL OF THE  
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

The New York Journal-American, dated March 24, 1949, contained an article by William P. Flythe concerning a demand in the Senate for an investigation of the Atomic Energy Commission's loyalty clearance of Doctor Frank P. Graham, just appointed Senator from North Carolina. Senator Jenner (R. Indiana) reportedly read from the records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities the list of Doctor Graham's affiliations and declared, "No one questions that Doctor Graham is a good man but the records of the Un-American Activities Committee and the FBI." He is further quoted as having stated, "No one believes that Doctor Graham is a Communist but he has been soft to Communists."

The article reflected that Senator Bricker (R. Ohio) pointed out the appointment was made by Chairman David E. Lilienthal after the Atomic Energy Commission's Security Officer Admiral John Gingrich and a Loyalty Review Board had refused to approve the clearance. 100-23300-A

AFFILIATION WITH CITED GROUPS

National Council Against Conscription

The National Council Against Conscription has been cited by the California Committee on Un-American Activities in their 1948 report (page 319) as a "Communist front organized for the purpose of attracting many good citizens --- who are against war."

In a full report issued by the above Committee on March 25, 1948, Frank Porter Graham is listed as a (former) Honorary President of the Council and is described as a member of Communist organizations. 62-82828-47

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100-10355-307

The information contained in the attached reports and in the foregoing paragraphs is furnished to you as a result of your request for a check of our files and is not to be construed as a clearance or a nonclearance of the individual involved. This information is furnished for your confidential use only.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3 - orig. & dupls.  
1 - yellow  
- Mr. Boardman  
- Mr. Belmont  
1 - sect. tick.  
1 - Mr. [ ]

b7C

October 17, 1955

FRANK PORTER GRAHAM

Background:

Frank Porter Graham was born October 14, 1886, at Fayetteville, North Carolina. He was graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1909 and among other occupations became President of that university in 1930. He was appointed U.S. Senator from North Carolina and served as such in 1949 and 1950. He has also served as a member of the President's Committee on Education (1945) and on the President's Committee on Civil Rights (1946), as well as serving as First President, Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies, Inc., from 1946 to 1949. Since 1951 he has served as the United Nations representative for India and Pakistan.

Bureau Investigations:

Graham was the subject of an Internal Security - Hatch Act investigation during 1942 and 1943. The investigation was based upon information that Dr. Graham, who was then a member of the National War Labor Board, was listed in the active indices of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and, accordingly, was considered a Federal employee by the Attorney General within the purview of Public Law No. 644, 77th Congress. The investigation developed that Dr. Graham was associated with numerous liberal-type organizations including several listed by the Attorney General. No evidence was developed, however, which would indicate that he was a member of or was in any way affiliated with the Communist Party. To the contrary, investigation determined that Graham took an opposite stand to the Communist Party line on many issues and was attacked publicly by known Communists for his expressions in those instances. The Interdepartmental Committee on Employee Investigations on December 11, 1943, advised the National War Labor Board would take no administrative action in the case of Graham.

In September, 1947, Graham became the subject of an Atomic Energy Act - Espionage investigation in view of his employment as President of the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies, Inc., Oak Ridge, Tennessee. This latter investigation developed substantially the same information as was reported in the afore-

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RECORDED - 8 100-23300-23

pyp/saw (8)  
Bufile 100-23300

(Cover memo, Belmont to Boardman, 10/13/55 RE: [ ] ETAL.,;

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (saw)

b7C

DECLASSIFIED BY 1259 JF/ell  
ON 10-10-78

63 NOV

mentioned Internal Security - Hatch Act matter. On December 20, 1948, the Atomic Energy Commission publicly announced their clearance of Dr. Graham for access to restricted data. It is to be noted that the clearance was reportedly given by David E. Lillenthal, then Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission over the objections of the Security Advisory Board of the Commission.

During the Hatch Act investigation in 1942 and 1943 it was determined that Congressman Plessner from Missouri on April 15, 1941, had addressed the House of Representatives and expressed his inability to understand why certain men were selected for membership on the "Super-Mediation Board," which had been created by the President. Congressman Plessner was particularly concerned with the appointment of Graham and referred to a book published by the Constitutional Educational League of New Haven, Connecticut, which said among other things, that Graham was once a board member of Soviet Russia's State University of Moscow Summer School which trained American students in Communism. This book stated that Graham had served as President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which had been identified by Earl Browder in his testimony before the Dies Committee as a transmission belt for Communist propaganda.

During this same Hatch Act investigation it was determined that on November 3, 1941, Congressman Leland M. Ford, of California, addressed the House of Representatives and in his remarks stated that he had documentary proof of Graham's affiliation with the following front organizations of the Communist Party:

- American League for Peace and Democracy
- Southern Conference for Human Welfare
- Committee for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression
- American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom
- National Bureau American Friends of Spanish Democracy
- National Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
- American Friends of Spanish Democracy
- Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo
- International Labor Defense
- American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

It was noted in a file review subsequent to the above investigations that Graham had been affiliated with over 25 organizations some of which were known to be Communist front and infiltrated groups. Among these were the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and the American League for Peace and Democracy, all cited by the Attorney General as coming within Executive Order 10450. It was indicated that Graham became affiliated with these groups for the stated purpose of the organization and not to aid Communist ideologies. (121-28654; 100-23300-21; 138-2884-19)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

October 13, 1955

b7C

FRANK PORTER GRAHAM

Background:

Frank Porter Graham was born October 14, 1886, at Fayetteville, North Carolina. He was graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1909 and among other occupations became President of that university in 1930. He was appointed U.S. Senator from North Carolina and served as such in 1949 and 1950. He has also served as a member of the President's Committee on Education (1945) and on the President's Committee on Civil Rights (1946), as well as serving as First President, Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies, Inc., from 1946 to 1949. Since 1951 he has served as the United Nations representative for India and Pakistan.

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b7C

pyp/saw

(Cover memo, Belmont to Boardman, 10/13/55  
RE: [redacted] ETAL.; WFW:saw)

Bufile 100-23300

b7C

100-23300 -23

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/26/00 BY SPAN/10/06

mentioned Internal Security - Hatch Act matter. On December 20, 1948, the Atomic Energy Commission publicly announced their clearance of Dr. Graham for access to restricted data. It is to be noted that the clearance was reportedly given by David E. Lilienthal, then Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission over the objections of the Security Advisory Board of the Commission.

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- Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
- American Friends of Spanish Democracy
- Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo
- International Labor Defense
- American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

It was noted in a file review subsequent to the above investigations that Graham had been affiliated with over 25 organizations some of which were known to be Communist front and infiltrated groups. Among these were the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and the American League for Peace and Democracy, all cited by the Attorney General as coming within Executive Order 10450. It was indicated that Graham became affiliated with these groups for the stated purpose of the organization and not to aid Communist ideologies. (121-28654; 100-23300-21; 138-2884-19)

Relations With Bureau:

In January and February, 1942, friendly letters were exchanged between the Director and Graham in connection with the Institute of Government, a self-governing division of the University of North Carolina. In the Spring of 1942, Graham was considered for the faculty of the FBI National Academy. However, he was not approached in connection with this consideration.

In 1943, former SAC Scheidt advised that Agents of the Charlotte Office of the Bureau had frequent contacts with Graham "whose cooperative attitude has been marked in giving information from school records to Bureau Agents" and that friendly relations exist between Graham and the Charlotte Office.

On February 13, 1950, the Director returned a call from Graham at which time Graham advised that he had brought a message from Walter F. Anderson, Director of the State Bureau of Investigation, Raleigh, North Carolina, to the effect that Anderson was 100% back of the Bureau and that Graham, who was then serving as Senator from North Carolina, wanted to say the same thing.

Prior Dissemination:

Information in Bureau files concerning Graham has been furnished to various outside agencies including the Atomic Energy Commission; G-2, Department of the Army; the White House and the Department of Justice.

MR. [REDACTED]

b7C

FROM :

MR. A. H. BELMONT

1 - Mr. Boardman  
 1 - Mr. Nichols  
 1 - Mr. Belmont  
 - Mr. [REDACTED] b7C

SUBJECT: b7C

FRANK P. GRAHAM; [REDACTED]  
 INFORMATION CONCERNING

1 - Lia. Sect., Tick.

Mr. Tolson  
 Mr. Boardman  
 Mr. Nichols  
 Mr. Belmont  
 Mr. Tamm  
 Mr. Sizoo  
 Mr. Winterrowd  
 Tele. Room  
 Mr. Holloman  
 Mr. Gandy

SYNOPSIS:

Westbrook Pegler's "New York Journal-American" article of 10-10-55 entitled "Squanderbund's Outpost Abroad" is critical of the Roosevelt-Truman character of the American Library in Rome, referring to it as a political agency. The Director has requested memoranda on [REDACTED] Frank P. Graham and [REDACTED] b7C

[REDACTED] Pegler reports Nordness, Public Affairs Officer, U.S. Information Service in Rome, and former Press Agent for Ambassador Clare Booth Luce, responsible for library window displays which give the Italian public a false account of the position and character of unionism in the United States. Pegler refers to Morse as a New Dealer who is Chief of the International Labor Office and to Graham "of similar politics" as a "representative" of the United Nations to India and Pakistan. Pegler commented that Bell, an admirer of Robert M. Hutchins, of the "left-wing Fund for the Republic, has been appointed alternate American delegate to the United Nations." 1948 applicant investigation of [REDACTED] resulted negatively. In 1950 Bureau received information second hand that [REDACTED] married [REDACTED] to be Communist" and was receiving advice on Marshall Plan policy from "well-known Communist leader" in Norway. Investigation of [REDACTED] indicates association with either Communist Party members or individuals known to be pro-Soviet. Graham was subject of Hatch Act and Atomic Energy investigations in 1942-43 and 1951 respectively. Investigations reflect affiliations with over 25 organizations some of which were known to be Communist front and infiltrated groups. No evidence developed indicating membership in Communist Party and is frequently opposed Communist Party line. [REDACTED] b7C

Communist-

[REDACTED] AG, White House and State Dept. (8/23-10/18/54). [REDACTED] opposed to [REDACTED] teachers who invoked Fifth Amendment (12/53); appointed to Committee to counsel with Government on loyalty programs involving nonsecret Federally supported research in private institutions (3/55); made Ford Foundation sponsored scholarship fund (9/55); and member of Fund for the Republic's Commission on Bases and Housing (1955). b7C

ACTION:

For information.

15 OCT 27 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/10/01 BY SP4 DM/inf

memo to AG 10-17-55  
 CC: [REDACTED] WFW, sent

100-102  
 REG-102  
 REG-102

100-23300

N

51 NOV 7 1955

100-23300  
NOT RECORDED  
133 OCT 31 1955

ORIGINAL FILED IN

67-36434-239

Memorandum to Mr. Boardman

DETAILS:

Westbrook Pegler in an article entitled "Squanderbund's Outpost Abroad" which appeared in the "New York Journal-American," October 10, 1955, was critical of what he called the Roosevelt-Truman character of the huge American Library in Rome and which he indicated is nothing more than a political agency. He indicated that the large window display in the library is under the supervision of Nedville Nordness, Public Affairs Officer, U. S. Information Service, and that these displays constantly give the Italian public a false account of the position, function and character of unionism in the United States. He commented that these union racketeers are Democrats and have contributed millions to the Roosevelt-Truman-Stevenson campaign funds, wrung from unwilling but helpless American subjects of these bosses. He indicated that magazines published by Henry Luce, whose wife is Clare Booth Luce, Ambassador to Italy, are prominently displayed in the library, but he, Pegler, found no mention in the card index of Eugene Castle's book entitled "Billions, Blunders and Baloney" which, according to Pegler, thoroughly exposed this library among other defiant outposts of the American squanderbund which Paul Hoffman organized at former President Truman's request. Pegler further commented that there is no mention of this book nor of any other factual works, but that the large window display continues to favor the other side. Pegler commented that Nordness formerly worked as the official Press Agent to Ambassador Luce.

The article indicated that Pegler, while in Geneva, Switzerland, found David Morse living on the fat of the land at \$20,000 a year as Chief of the International Labor Office and Frank P. Graham turned up as "representative" of the United Nations to India and Pakistan which Pegler described as a fat subsidy, tax-exempt, for another Left-wing Democrat.

Pegler's article commented that certainly Paul Hoffman is no Republican except possibly by registration and that now, as another nail or plank in this edifice of deceit, came word that one Laird Bell, a Democrat and supporter of Adlai Stevenson and a frank admirer of Robert M. Hutchins, associated with Hoffman in the Fund for the Republic, has been appointed alternate American delegate to the United Nations.

Generate memorandum concerning Nordness, Hoffman, Graham and Bell and other persons mentioned.

Mr.

SAC, Newark

June 27, 1956

b7C

Director, FBI (100-23300)

(Orig & 1)

DR. FRANK P. GRAHAM  
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING

Reference is made to Newark let dated 6/14/56,  
entitled "Unsub;  Informant, Miscellaneous -  
Information Concerning, Internal Security - R."

Attached are documents previously forwarded to  
the Bureau with your letter of May 18, 1956.

Since these documents are of no interest to the  
Bureau, you should return them to the hotel management  
for such disposition as is deemed advisable.

Enclosures - 4

cc - 1 - New York

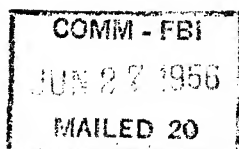
cc - 1 -

WAA:pb:sao

RECORDED - 49

100-23300-24

EX-107



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/8/2001 BY SP2 ALM/umf

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 10 1958

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Mr. Clayton	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

*BAADTC*

BI WUD070 DPR PD

WESTERN UNION

FAX ORLANDO FLO 10 313PME

J EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION WASHDC

UNSigned LITERATURE CIRCULATING HERE ATTEMPTING TO SHOW DR. FRANK  
PORTER GRAHAM, FORMER U.S. SENATOR FROM NORTH CAROLINA AND FORMER  
PRESIDENT OF UNIV. OF NORTH CAROLINA, IS MEMBER OF "37 COMMUNIST  
ORGANIZATIONS" AND OTHER SO-CALLED SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS. CAN  
YOU PLEASE TELL US WHETHER HE HAS EVER BEEN MEMBER OF ANY ORGANIZATION  
ON ATTORNEY GENERAL'S LIST OF SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS? APPRECIATE  
WIRE IMMEDIATELY

b7C

ORLANDO SENTINEL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/8/2001 BY SP2 BLM/TMF

REC-58

100-23300-25

18 JUN 13 1958

414P.

Mr. Nease

EX-102

*(encl)  
wire collect  
6-11-58  
CBF*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 11 1958

WESTERN UNION

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clayton \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

BI 20 ST GOVT RATE PD 6-11-58 6-31 PM

MR. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b7C

ORLANDO SENTINEL

ORLANDO, FLORIDA

WOULD LIKE ~~TEXT~~ TO BE OF SERVICE BUT FUNCTION OF THIS BUREAU AS  
STRICTLY FACT-GATHERING AGENCY DOES NOT EXTEND TO FURNISHING  
EVALUATIONS OF INDIVIDUALS. SUGGEST YOU MAY DESIRE TO CONTACT  
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES FOR ~~TEXT~~ ANY ~~ASSISTANCE~~  
ASSISTANCE IT CAN ~~TEXT~~ AFFORD.

~~TEXT~~ JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/8/00 BY SP2 NLM/mf

June 11, 1958

PLAIN TEXT

REC- 58

TELEGRAM

URGENT *WALL*

EX-102

MR.

b7C

ORLANDO SENTINEL  
ORLANDO, FLORIDA

WOULD LIKE TO BE OF SERVICE BUT FUNCTION OF THIS BUREAU AS  
STRICTLY-FACT-GATHERING AGENCY DOES NOT EXTEND TO FURNISHING  
EVALUATIONS OF INDIVIDUALS. SUGGEST YOU MAY DESIRE TO CONTACT  
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES FOR ANY ASSISTANCE  
IT CAN AFFORD.

*V*  
JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CBF:amg, rfm  
(3)

NOTE: Bufiles reflect no information to preclude this wire to Orlando Sentinel. Dr. Frank Porter Graham is well known to Bureau, and Bufiles reflect that he has been affiliated with over 25 organizations some of which were known to be communist front and infiltrated groups. A number of these groups have been cited by the AG as coming within the purview of executive order 10450. (121-28654, 100-23300-21, 188-2884-19) It was indicated that Dr. Graham's affiliation with these groups was for the stated purpose of the organization and not to aid communist ideologies. Bufile 61-7582-1816 reflects a report of HCUA 6/25/42 on subversive activities aimed at destroying our representative form of government. Graham, identified in connection with Union for Democratic Action, listed as one of 50 leaders who were affiliated with communist front groups. Graham is also named repeatedly in connection with similar front groups in the HCUA report on Un-American propaganda activities in the U. S., compiled in 1944. (61-7582-1298)

*Leif*  
Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Clayton \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

1958  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
DIRECTOR'S OFFICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

68 JUN 15 1958

JUN 11 1958

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/10/00 BY SP2 DMV/mmf

MAIL ROOM ☐

COPIES DESTROYED 6-15-58

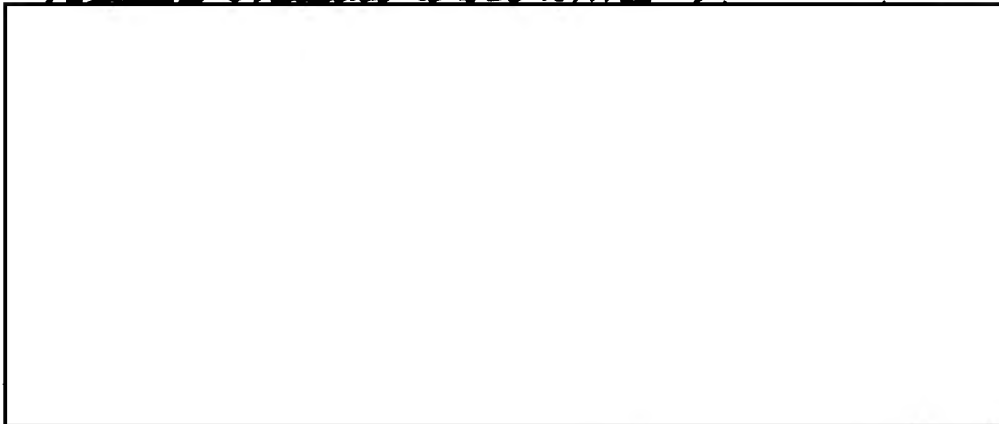
RECEIVED IN AM

Mr. Tolson

October 8, 1957

In looking over our files re [redacted] AEC, in view of Director's notation, "By reason of our past experience with Graham I think we should be most circumspect in our dealings with him. H.," it occurred that possibly the Director had Frank Porter Graham, former president of Uni. of N. Carolina and former Senator from N. Carolina 1949-1950, in mind. Frank Porter Graham has been affiliated with over twenty-five organizations some of which were communist fronts. A 1955 summary is attached for more detailed information.

*1 detail returned to AEC 10/11/57*



A. H. Belmont

100-13500-1  
NOT RECORDED  
170 OCT 15 1957

*You are right about this  
was wrong*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/19/00 BY SP2 NMM/MAF

51 OCT 16 1957

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO :

[Redacted]

DATE: June 30, 1958

FROM :

[Redacted]

b7C

SUBJECT:

FRANK PORTER GRAHAMSM - C

Attached is a memorandum prepared by the New York Office concerning captioned individual, which does not include any information obtained as the result of a file review at Seat of Government. The attached was transmitted by New York letter dated June 6, 1958, captioned "Communist Infiltration of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Internal Security - C," the original of which is filed in Bufile 61-3176-2557.

EXTREME CAUTION SHOULD BE TAKEN IN UTILIZING THE INFORMATION IN THE ATTACHED AS INCLUDED THEREIN MAY BE INFORMATION, PARTICULARLY THAT FROM THE INDICES OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES (HCUA), WHICH HAS NOT BEEN DEFINITELY IDENTIFIED AS BEING IDENTICAL WITH CAPTIONED INDIVIDUAL. THE ATTACHED MEMORANDUM, OR ANY REPRODUCTION THEREOF, SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED IN ITS ENTIRETY.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that instant memorandum and its attachment be routed to the Records Branch:



To be filed in case file of captioned individual.



To have a new 100 main inactive file opened on captioned individual and for filing therein.

A-124

EX-124

5 - [Signature]

3 ENCLOSURES

REC-41

100 - 23300 - 26

10 JUL 3 1958

Enclosure

Bufile 100-23300

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/2/01 BY SP2 NM/VA

57 JUL 9 1958

JUN 6 1958

NY 100-7629-Sub C

Frank Porter Graham  
Charlotte "Committee of 100"  
N.A.A.C.P.  
Legal Defense and Educational  
Fund, Inc.

---

Background information concerning Graham was  
obtained from [redacted] University of  
North Carolina [redacted] North Carolina,  
and the 1958-1959 issue of "Who's Who in America."

b7C

A review of the files of the New York Office  
relative to Frank Porter Graham failed to reflect any  
information of pertinence not already set out by the  
House Committee on Un-American Activities check.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/17/00 BY SP2 RM/ent

5- Rm  
Mittelman

(1)  
100-23300-26  
ENCLOSURE

JUN 6 1958

NY 100-7629-Sub C

Frank Porter Graham  
Charlotte "Committee of 100"  
N.A.A.C.P.  
Legal Defense and Educational  
Fund, Inc.

---

Frank Porter Graham, white male, was born October 14, 1886 at Fayetteville, North Carolina. He lists his address as United Nations, New York City, and his home as Chapel Hill, North Carolina. He is a Conciliator at the United Nations, New York.

The January 14, 1949 issue of the "Charlotte News," a Charlotte, North Carolina daily newspaper, carried an article quoting Dr. Frank P. Graham as saying he was always against Communism. This article reflected Dr. Graham was then President of the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Study and that he had been given a security clearance by the Atomic Energy Commission.

*Corrections to Be  
made on  
Pages 2, 3, 4, 6,  
7, 8, 10, 17*

*5 - Tm*

b7C

1 (2)  
100-23300-26  
ENCLOSURE

1. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM

2. 100 - 23300

3. yes

4. no

5. no

6. no

7. 2/43

8. 13

9. no

Note: Graham is a former Senator from N.C. & President of U. of N.C. now connected with U.N. Complete summary in Bufiles reflects his association with over 25 organizations including many C. front groups. No evidence developed indicating his association with these groups was for subversive purposes.

file  
- on

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/1/00 BY SP-6/mf

100-23300-26  
ENCLOSURE

( )  
FRANK P. GRAHAM  
A MEMBER OF THE "COMMITTEE OF 100," N.A.A.C.P. LEGAL DEFENSE  
AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INCORPORATED

A name check of the indices and/or printed hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, on May 15, 1958, by SE [ ] on the name FRANK P. GRAHAM, reflected the following references which were not checked against the original source: b7C

1. One FRANK GRAHAM, Chicago, Illinois, was reported at a meeting at the Communist Party headquarters, (1941?).
2. One FRANK GRAHAM, 814 Marian Avenue, Indianapolis, see Chicago Police Department file #90.
3. One FRANK GRAHAM, Detroit, Michigan, wrote a letter to the "Daily Worker" on July 28, 1939, page 4, Column 6.
4. Page 264, Part 1, Volume 4, of the testimony of WALTER S. STEELE on November 25, 1930, Providing For an Investigation of Communist Propaganda in the United States, reflects from the "Daily Worker," on September 12, 1927, an active, "Women Workers Hold Labor Institute at Sweetbriar College" which reflects that the Southern students of Bryn Mawr Institute for Women in Industry, formed a similar summer school which advisory committee consists of five members, one being a Mr. FRANK GRAHAM, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

IP DOES  
NOT MAKE  
SENSE  
ARTICLE

APPENDIX IX

Page 328, reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM of the University of North Carolina as a member of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom as it appeared in the "Daily Worker," of March 18, 1939, page 2, under "Scientists in Drive for Democracy."

Page 330 reflects one President FRANK P. GRAHAM, University of North Carolina, as a member of the Executive Committee of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (ACDIF).

Page 335 reflects one President FRANK P. GRAHAM, University of North Carolina, as a National Committeeman of ACDIF.

Page 336 reflects one President FRANK P. GRAHAM, University of North Carolina, as a member of the National Executive Committee of the ACDIF.

Page 349 reflects one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as a sponsor of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (ACPFB).

Page 354 reflects one Dr. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina, as a sponsor of the Fifth National Conference of the ACPFB.

Page 380 reflects one President FRANK P. GRAHAM as a member of the Committee of the Medical Bureau, American Friends of Spanish Democracy (MB-AFSD).

*FRIENDS*

Page 381 reflects one President FRANK P. GRAHAM as a member of the Committee of the AFSD.

Page 382 reflects that "New Masses," of January 5, 1937, page 31 indicates one FRANK P. GRAHAM as a sponsor of the AFSD.

Page 392 reflects "New Masses," of March 15, 1938, page 19, indicates one FRANK P. GRAHAM as a signer of a statement in "Readers Forum," "Quarantining the Aggressor" made by the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Page 475 reflects that the "New York Times," of October 10, 1941, published an article "These Eminent Americans Ask Your Help on Behalf of the Russian People" which indicates one of these listed to be a Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina.

Page 621 reflects one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina, as one of the Educators among the Prominent Americans Who Favor Presidential Clemency For the Release of EARL BROWDER.

Page 634 reflects one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina, as a signer to a statement "Boycott Committee Asks All Tokyo Goods Barred," an Appeal Denouncing Ruthless Aggression Signed by Leading Americans, Public Officials, Educators and Social Workers.

Page 666 reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina, as one of the Representative Individuals, Presidents and Deans of Colleges and Universities appearing in an official booklet of the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo.

Page 675 reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM as a sponsor of the Council of Young Southerners, "Stay South, Young Man." ?

Page 840 reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina and Chairman of ~~Southern~~ Conference for Human Welfare, as one of those who sent greetings and messages wishing success for the National Conference of the International Labor Defense, held in Washington, D. C., July 8 and July 9, 1939. ✓

Page 965 reflects one President FRANK P. GRAHAM, University of North Carolina, as one of those sending messages of support and good wishes to the Lawyers Committee on American Relations With Spain, which organized a two day "Conference to Lift the Embargo" and convened in Washington, D. C., November 19 and November 20, 1938.

Page 1037 reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM as a sponsor of the League of Young Southerners, August 13, 1940.

Page 1168 reflects one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as a sponsor of the National Committee To Abolish the Poll Tax.

Page 1213 reflects one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as the signer of an open letter about "Alien Baiting" which was issued by the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights.

Page 1215 reflects one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as a signer of "A Warning to America" also issued by the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights.

Page 1583 reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM was the first chairman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and has a strong predilection for affiliations with communist-front organizations and has been associated with:

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom  
American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born  
American Friends of Spanish Democracy  
American Friends of Spanish Democracy Medical Bureau  
American League for Peace and Democracy  
China Aid Council  
China Aid Council of American League for Peace and Democracy  
Committee for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression  
Conference to Lift the Embargo  
Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo  
International Labor Defense  
Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy

Page 1585 reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM, Honorary Chairman, as an officer of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare, from an official report of the organization.

Page 1592 reflects one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, as one of the general officers who compose the Executive Committee of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare, 1938-1939.

Page 1597 reflects a Conference Program "Democracy in the South" Sunday, April 14, 1940, listing one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina, Co-Chairman on "The Meaning of Religion for Democracy."

Page 1598 reflects a Third Meeting of The Southern Conference for Human Welfare "The South's Part in Winning the War For Democracy" on Sunday, April 19, 1942, this lists one of the addresses to be given by a Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina.

Page 1599 reflects the program for Monday, April 20, 1942, of the above-mentioned conference, it was noted one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM was Chairman of Panel One, "Industrial Production."

Page 1604 reflects one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as one of the sponsors of a dinner celebrating the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Red Army under the auspices of the magazine "Soviet Russia Today."

Page 1611 reflects one Professor FRANK P. GRAHAM as a sponsor of the Medical Bureau and Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

6. Page 10 of House Report 2277, Special Report on Subversive Activities Aimed at Destroying Our Representative Form of Government, June 25, 1942, reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM, a sponsor of the Union for Democratic Action, as being affiliated with five other agencies and fronts of the Communist Party.

Page 13 of the above-mentioned report reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM as one of the ten leaders of the Union for Democratic Action who have been affiliated with the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.

Page 15 of the above-mentioned report reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM, a sponsor of the Union for Democratic Action, who was a national sponsor of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Page 19 of the above-mentioned report reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM as a leader of the Union for Democratic Action.

Page 22 of the above-mentioned report reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM to be one of twenty-two leaders of the Union for Democratic Action, who was affiliated with either the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy or the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

b7C

7. Page [ ] of the testimony of [ ] on March 30, 1943, Executive Hearings, Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States, discloses exhibit thirteen to be a list of sponsors of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, the Fourth Annual Conference of which was being held at Hotel Annapolis, Washington, D. C., on March 2 and March 3, 1940.

b7C

b7C

8. Page [ ] of the testimony of [ ] of the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service, Federal Communications Commission, on April 1, 1943, in connection with the above-mentioned Executive Hearing, reflects one FRANK GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina, was a sponsor of a meeting under the auspices of the American Committee for Democracy Intellectual Freedom, held on or about April 13, 1940.

b7C

b7C

9. Page 137 of the testimony of WALTER S. STEELE, regarding communist activity in the United States, on July 21, 1947, before the Committee on Un-American Activities, reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM was elected as honorary chairman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare on April 14 - April 16, 1940, at the Memorial Auditorium, Chattanooga.

Page 138 of the above-mentioned testimony reflects a third conference of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was held at Memorial Hall, Nashville, April 19 - April 21, 1942, at which conference one FRANK P. GRAHAM delivered an address.

10. Page 1 of the report on the Southern Conference for Human Welfare before the Committee on Un-American Activities on June 16, 1947, reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM as Honorary President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Page 6 of the above-mentioned report reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM, Head of the University of North Carolina, was the first chairman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and remains as its honorary president.

Southern

Page 8 of the above-mentioned report reflects the change of the communist line resulting from the signing of the STALIN-HITLER Pact "invoked a bitter struggle in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare at its meeting in April, 1940. The liberals led by one FRANK P. GRAHAM supported the policy of the ROOSEVELT Administration."

Page 14 of the above-mentioned report is a table showing connections with communist-front organizations or communist activities on which was listed one FRANK P. GRAHAM, honorary president of Southern Conference for Human Welfare, a supporter of BROWDER and affiliated with American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, American Committee for Foreign Born, International Labor Defense, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and American League for Peace and Democracy.

11. Page 191 of the testimony of PAUL CROUCH at hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, May 6, 1949, Mr. CROUCH was asked how one Dr. GRAHAM, a non-communist in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, got into the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. He stated that Dr. GRAHAM was approached with the names of other endorsers who were not communists and convinced him the Southern Conference was a bona fide organization interested only in improving conditions in the South.

*5 sentences  
57 lines*

12. Page 47 of the Annual Report of the Committee on Un-American Activities for the year 1949 is the testimony of YELVERTON COWHERD in which he states he was listed under "Communist Manipulation" and is an originator of communist manipulation to anyone reading this report. He stated that one Dr. GRAHAM and all the others will say he was the leader of the opposing faction as he was the area chairman of the Americanization Committee of the American Legion at the time.

*12 NOT  
CONCERNED*

Page 49 of the above-mentioned testimony reflects one Dr. GRAHAM was the first permanent chairman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Page 50 of the above-mentioned testimony indicated when Mr. COWHERD was asked about presenting supplementary material, he said he only knew of one thing and that would be a statement from one Dr. FRANK GRAHAM.

13. Page 3325 of the testimony of EDWARD G. ROBINSON at hearing before the Un-American Activities Committee on October 27, 1950, reflects one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as a sponsor of a dinner celebrating the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Red Army on February 22, 1943, in New York City.
14. Page 3638 of the testimony of Bishop G. BROMLEY OXNAM at hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities on July 21, 1953, is OXNAM exhibit #11, a letterhead dated April 16, 1939, of The American League for Peace and Democracy on which one President FRANK P. GRAHAM was listed as one of the National Committee Members.

Page 3669 of the above-mentioned testimony is OXNAM exhibit #19 which is a letterhead dated July 6, 1938, of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy on which is listed one President FRANK P. GRAHAM a national sponsor.

Page 3670 of the above-mentioned testimony is OXNAM exhibit #20, which is a letterhead dated February 2, 1939, of the above-mentioned organization on which is listed one Professor FRANK P. GRAHAM as a sponsor.

Page 3688 of the above-mentioned testimony reflects OXNAM exhibit #23, (Part 2) which lists one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as a sponsor of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax.

15. Page 2 of International Communism (Communist Design on Indonesia and the Pacific Frontier) before the Committee on Un-American Activities, December 16, 1957, indicates "The Communist Party theoretical monthly 'Political Affairs,' September, 1947, laid down the official American communist policy on Indonesia one year before a United Nations Commission, headed by Mr. GRAHAM, began to operate. The U.N.C.I. appeared to follow the 'Political Affairs' piece almost to the letter."

Page 18 of the above-mentioned document reflects CHARLES BIDIEN in an article in "Political Affairs" and threw light on the Indonesian situation by revealing that the Indonesian Government was about two thirds communist controlled. The sinister implications of this article, laying down communist policy of Indonesia, (1947) is the fact that a United Nations Commission, headed by FRANK PORTER GRAHAM, (1948) appeared to have followed BIDIEN's recommendations almost to the letter.

*✓*  
*Discreet*

NY 100-7629-Sub C

The following organizations have been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450:

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (ACFPB)

American League for Peace and Democracy (ALPD)

Communist Party, USA

China Aid Council of American League for Peace and Democracy

International Labor Defense

National Council of American Soviet Friendship

NY 100-7629-Sub C

**AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRACY  
AND INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM (ACDIF)**

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front which defended Communist teachers.  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, H. R. 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 13, and House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 87.)
- "2. Cited as subversive and un-American.  
(Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p. 3.)"

NY 100-7629-Sub C

**COMMITTEE FOR BOYCOTT AGAINST  
JAPANESE AGRESSION**

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The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", dated May 14, 1951, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Committee For Boycott Against Japanese Aggression:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.  
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 147, 319, and 335.)"

NY 100-7629-Sub C

**COORDINATING COMMITTEE TO  
LIFT THE SPANISH EMBARGO**

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo:

- "1. Cited as one of a number of front organizations, set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist Party in the United States and through which the party carried on a great deal of agitation.  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 137 and 138.)
- "2. Cited as one in a 'series of Communist enterprises which have dealt with Spain and the Spanish Civil War. Directly related, organizationally or historically, with the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee \* \* \*'.  
(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, H. R. 2233, June 7, 1946, p. 27.)"

NY 100-7629-Sub C

COUNCIL OF YOUNG SOUTHERNERS

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Council of Young Southerners:

- "1. 'Described on its letterhead as having "its origin at the Youth Commission of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare."' (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592 on the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, June 16, 1947, p. 5.)"

NY 100-7629-Sub C

"DAILY WORKER"

The "Daily Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

FRIENDS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade:

- "1. 'In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations.' Among these was the above Communist-front organizations. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 82 and 125; also cited in Annual Report, H. R. 1476, January 3, 1940, p. 9.)"

NY 100-7629-Sub C

**LAWYERS COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN  
RELATIONS WITH SPAIN**

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C, contains the following concerning the Lawyers Committee on American Relations With Spain:

- "1. 'When it was the policy of the Communist Party to organize much of its main propaganda around the civil war in Spain, the above 'Communist lawyers' front organization' supported this movement. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 168 and 169.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

MEDICAL BUREAU, AMERICAN FRIENDS  
SPANISH DEMOCRACY (MB - AFSD)

Louis Gibarti, an alleged former Comintern representative, whose credibility is not known since he has in the past furnished reliable and unreliable information, advised in 1949, that this was an organization through which financial support was furnished to the Spanish Loyalist cause and was subsequently merged with the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

NY 100-7629-Sub C

MEDICAL BUREAU AND NORTH AMERICAN  
COMMITTEE TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy:

- "1. 'In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations.' Among these was the above.  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 82.)
- "2. Cited as subversive and un-American.  
(Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p.3.)
- "3. Cited as one in a 'series of Communist enterprises which have dealt with Spain and Spanish Civil War. Directly related, organizationally or historically, with the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee \* \* \*'  
(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 2233, June 7, 1946, p. 27.)"

NY 100-7629-Sub C

**NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO  
ABOLISH THE POLL TAX**

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", dated May 14, 1951, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax:

- "1. 'Among the Communist-front organizations for racial agitation' which also serve as 'money-collecting media' and 'as special political organizing centers for the racial minority they pretend to champion.'  
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 45.)"

NY 100-7629-Sub C

**NATIONAL EMERGENCY CONFERENCE  
FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS**

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 48 and 102.)
- "2. 'It will be remembered that during the days of the infamous Soviet-Nazi pact, the Communists built protective organizations known as the National Emergency Conference, the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, which culminated in the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.'  
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1115 on the Civil Rights Congress, November 17, 1947, originally released September 2, 1947, p. 12.)
- "3. Cited as Subversive and un-American.  
(Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p. 3.)"

"NEW MASSES"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning "New Masses":

- "1. A 'Communist periodical.'  
(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688.)
- "2. 'Nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party \* \* \* whose ownership was vested in the American Fund for Public Service' (Garland Fund). (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 48 and 75; also cited in Annual Reports, H. R. 2, January 3, 1939, p. 80; and H. R. 2277, June 25, 1942, pp. 4 and 21.)"

NY 100-7629-Sub C

"SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning "Soviet Russia Today":

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 167; also cited in Annual Report, H. R. 2277, June 25, 1942, p.21.)
- "2. Cited as a 'Communist-front publication.'  
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1953 on the Congress of American Women, April 26, 1950, originally released October 23, 1949, p. 108.)
- "3. Cited as a 'Communist-controlled' publication.  
(Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Report 2050 on the Institute of Pacific Relations, July 2, 1952, pp. 96 and 146.)"

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Southern Conference for Human Welfare:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate.  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 147.)
- "2. Cited as a Communist-front organization 'which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South' although its 'professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States.'  
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592 on the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, June 16, 1947.)"

10/14/63

AIRTEL

REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (61-3176)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-7629-Sub D)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE NATIONAL  
ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED  
PEOPLE  
IS - C  
(OO: NY)

ReBuairtel 8/15/63, NYairtels 8/28/63, 10/4/63 and  
10/11/63.

Enclosed are three copies of a LHM and one copy of a cover memorandum, as well as an additional copy of each for the Bureau file, where known, on the following individuals:

Roger Nash Baldwin

Frank Porter Graham

Sidney Hook

b7C

LHM are outstanding on the following names:

Freda Kirchwey - Awaiting additional information from  
HCUA records.

A. Philip Randolph - Awaiting additional information from  
HCUA records.

[redacted] - Minneapolis by airtel 10/10/63 advised  
[redacted] is employed and resides in NYC. Also awaiting results of HCUA  
check requested by Minneapolis airtel 10/10/63.

b7C

LHM on the above three names will be submitted upon receipt  
of necessary information from WFO.

- 2 - Bureau (Enc-8)(RM)
  - 1 - WFO (100-2941)(RM)
  - 1 - New York (100-7629-Sub D)#41
- AEC:IM  
(6)

100-23300  
NOT RECORDED  
98 OCT 15 1963

ENCLOSURE

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#266251

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ORIGINAL FILED IN 61-3176-3807

OCT 14 1963 ✓

NY 100-7629 Sub D

FRANK PORTER GRAHAM  
Member the "Committee  
of 100" in Support of  
The N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense  
and Educational Fund, Inc.

Background information concerning GRAHAM was obtained from the Charlotte Office and from the current issue of "Who's Who in America".

A review of the files of the NYO relative to FRANK PORTER GRAHAM failed to reflect any information of pertinence not already set out by the House Committee on Un-American Activities check.

① - Bureau (61-3176) (Encls. 3)  
1 - New York (100-7629 Sub D)

PMB:ad  
(2)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 8/15/2001 BY SP2 am/af  
# 941072



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 61-3176

OCT 14 1963

Frank Porter Graham  
Member The "Committee of  
100" in Support of  
The N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense  
and Educational Fund, Inc.

Frank Porter Graham, white male, was born October 14, 1886, at Fayetteville, North Carolina. He is a mediator at the United Nations in New York City and resides at the Beaux Arts Apartments, 310 East 44th Street, New York City.

The January 14, 1949, issue of the "Charlotte News", a Charlotte, North Carolina daily newspaper, carried an article quoting Dr. Frank P. Graham as saying he was always against Communism. This article reflected Dr. Graham was then President of the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Study and that he had been given a security clearance by the Atomic Energy Commission.

A name check of the indices and/or printed hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, on May 15, 1958, by Special Employee [redacted] on the name Frank P. Graham, reflected the following pertinent references which were not checked against the original source:

b7C

Characterizations of the organizations mentioned will be contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

Appendix IX

Page 328 reflects one Frank P. Graham of the University of North Carolina as a member of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (ACDIF) as it appeared in the "Daily Worker", of March 18, 1939, Page 2, under "Scientists in Drive for Democracy."

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# 266251

This document contains neither  
recommendations nor conclusions  
of the FBI. It is the property  
of the FBI and is loaned to your  
agency; it and its contents are  
not to be distributed outside  
your agency.

Frank Porter Graham

Page 335 reflects one President Frank P. Graham, University of North Carolina, as a National Committeeman of ACDIF.

Page 336 reflects one President Frank P. Graham, University of North Carolina, as a member of the National Executive Committee of the ACDIF.

Page 349 reflects one Dr. Frank P. Graham as a sponsor of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (ACPFB).

Page 354 reflects one Dr. Frank Porter Graham, President, University of North Carolina, as a sponsor of the Fifth National Conference of the ACPFB.

Page 381 reflects one President Frank P. Graham as a member of the Committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, (AFSD).

Page 382 reflects that "New Masses", of January 5, 1937, Page 31, indicates one Frank P. Graham as a sponsor of the AFSD.

Page 392 reflects "New Masses", of March 15, 1938, Page 19, indicates one Frank P. Graham as a signer of a statement in "Readers Forum", "Quarantining the Aggressor" made by the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Page 621 reflects one Dr. Frank P. Graham, President, University of North Carolina, as one of the Educators among the Prominent Americans Who Favor Presidential Clemency For the Release of Earl Browder.

Frank Porter Graham

Page 666 reflects one Frank P. Graham, President, University of North Carolina, as one of the Representative Individuals, Presidents and Deans of Colleges and Universities appearing in an official booklet of the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo.

Page 675 reflects one Frank P. Graham as a sponsor of the Council of Young Southerners, "Stay South, Young Man."

Page 840 reflects one Frank P. Graham, President of the University of North Carolina, and Chairman of Southern Conference for Human Welfare, as one of those who sent greetings and messages wishing success for the National Conference of the International Labor Defense, held in Washington, D.C., July 8 and July 9, 1939.

Page 965 reflects one President Frank P. Graham, University of North Carolina, as one of those sending messages of support and good wishes to the Lawyers Committee on American Relations With Spain, which organized a two day "Conference to Lift the Embargo" and convened in Washington, D.C., November 19 and November 20, 1938.

Page 1168 reflects one Dr. Frank P. Graham as a sponsor of the National Committee To Abolish the Poll Tax.

Page 1213 reflects one Dr. Frank P. Graham as the signer of an open letter about "Alien Baiting", which was issued by the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights.

Frank Porter Graham

Page 1215 reflects one Dr. Frank P. Graham as a signer of "A Warning to America" also issued by the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights.

Page 1583 reflects one Frank P. Graham was the first chairman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and has a strong predilection for affiliations with communist-front organizations and has been associated with:

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom  
American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born  
American Friends of Spanish Democracy  
American Friends of Spanish Democracy Medical Bureau  
American League for Peace and Democracy  
China Aid Council  
China Aid Council of American League for Peace and Democracy  
Committee for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression  
Conference to Lift the Embargo  
Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo  
International Labor Defense  
Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy

Page 1585 reflects one Frank P. Graham, Honorary Chairman, as an officer of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare, from an official report of the organization.

Page 1592 reflects one Dr. Frank P. Graham, President of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, as one of the general officers who compose the Executive Committee of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare, 1938-1939.

Frank Porter Graham

Page 1598 reflects a Third Meeting of The Southern Conference for Human Welfare "The South's Part in Winning the War For Democracy" on Sunday, April 19, 1942, this lists one of the addresses to be given by a Dr. Frank P. Graham, President, University of North Carolina.

Page 1599 reflects the program for Monday, April 20, 1942, of the above-mentioned conference, it was noted one Dr. Frank P. Graham was Chairman of Panel One, "Industrial Production."

Page 1604 reflects one Dr. Frank P. Graham as one of the sponsors of a dinner celebrating the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Red Army under the auspices of the magazine "Soviet Russia Today."

Page 1611 reflects one Professor Frank P. Graham as a sponsor of the Medical Bureau and Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

Page 10 of House Report 2277, Special Report on Subversive Activities Aimed at Destroying Our Representative Form of Government, June 25, 1942, reflects one Frank P. Graham, a sponsor of the Union for Democratic Action, as being affiliated with five other agencies and fronts of the Communist Party.

Page 13 of the above-mentioned report reflects one Frank P. Graham as one of the ten leaders of the Union for Democratic Action who have been affiliated with the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.

Page 15 of the above-mentioned report reflects one Frank P. Graham, a sponsor of the Union for Democratic Action, who was a national sponsor of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Frank Porter Graham

b7C

Page [ ] of the testimony of [ ] of the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service, Federal Communications Commission, on April 1, 1943, in connection with the Executive Hearing, Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States, reflects one Frank Graham, President of the University of North Carolina, was a sponsor of a meeting under the auspices of the American Committee for Democracy Intellectual Freedom, held on or about April 13, 1940.

b7C

Page 137 of the testimony of Walter S. Steele, regarding communist activity in the United States, on July 21, 1947, before the Committee on Un-American Activities, reflects one Frank P. Graham was elected as honorary chairman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare on April 14 - April 16, 1940, at the Memorial Auditorium, Chattanooga.

Page 138 of the above-mentioned testimony reflects a third conference of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was held at Memorial Hall, Nashville, April 19 - April 21, 1942, at which conference one Frank P. Graham delivered an address.

Page 1 of the report on the Southern Conference for Human Welfare before the Committee on Un-American Activities on June 16, 1947, reflects one Frank P. Graham as Honorary President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Page 6 of the above-mentioned report reflects one Frank P. Graham, Head of the University of North Carolina, was the first chairman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and remains as its honorary president.

Frank Porter Graham

Page 8 of the above-mentioned report reflects the change of the communist line resulting from the signing of the Stalin-Hitler Pact "invoked a bitter struggle in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare at its meeting in April, 1940. The liberals led by one FRANK P. GRAHAM supported the policy of the ROOSEVELT Administration."

Page 14 of the above-mentioned report is a table showing connections with communist-front organizations or communist activities on which was listed one Frank P. Graham, honorary president of Southern Conference for Human Welfare, a supporter of Browder and affiliated with American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, American Committee for Foreign Born, International Labor Defense, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and American League for Peace and Democracy.

Page 191 of the testimony of Paul Crouch at hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, May 6, 1949, Mr. Crouch was asked how one Dr. Graham, a non-communist in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, got into the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. He stated that Dr. Graham was approached with the names of other endorsers who were not communists and convinced him the Southern Conference was a bona fide organization interested only in improving conditions in the South.

Page 3325 of the testimony of Edward G. Robinson at hearing before the Un-American Activities Committee on October 27, 1950, reflects one Dr. Frank P. Graham as a sponsor of a dinner celebrating the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Red Army on February 22, 1943, in New York City.

Frank Porter Graham

Page 3638 of the testimony of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam at hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities on July 21, 1953, is Oxnam exhibit #11, a letterhead dated April 16, 1939, of The American League for Peace and Democracy on which one President Frank P. Graham was listed as one of the National Committee Members.

Page 3669 of the above-mentioned testimony is Oxnam exhibit #19, which is a letterhead dated July 6, 1938, of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy on which is listed one President Frank P. Graham a national sponsor.

Page 3670 of the above-mentioned testimony is Oxnam exhibit #20, which is a letterhead dated February 2, 1939, of the above-mentioned organization on which is listed one Professor Frank P. Graham as a sponsor.

Page 3688 of the above-mentioned testimony reflects Oxnam exhibit #23, (Part 2) which lists one Dr. Frank P. Graham as a sponsor of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax.

Page 2 of the International Communism (Communist Design on Indonesia and the Pacific Frontier) before the Committee on Un-American Activities, December 16, 1957, indicates "The Communist Party theoretical monthly 'Political Affairs', September, 1947, laid down the official American communist policy on Indonesia one year before a United Nations Commission, headed by Mr. Graham, began to operate. The U.N.C.I. appeared to follow the 'Political Affairs' piece almost to the letter."

Frank Porter Graham

Page 18 of the above-mentioned document reflects Charles Bidien in an article in "Political Affairs" which threw light on the Indonesian situation by revealing that the Indonesian Government was about two thirds communist controlled. The sinister implications of this article, laying down communist policy of Indonesia (1947) is the fact that a United Nations Commission, headed by Frank Porter Graham, (1948) appeared to have followed Bidien's recommendations almost to the letter.

A name check of the indices and/or printed hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities concerning the name of Dr. Frank P. Graham on October 10, 1963, by Investigative Clerk [redacted] revealed no further pertinent information concerning Graham.

b7C

Frank Porter Graham

APPENDIX

The following organizations have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450:

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (ACFPB)

American League for Peace and Democracy (ALPD)

Communist Party, USA

China Aid Council of American League for Peace and Democracy

International Labor Defense

National Council of American Soviet Friendship

Frank Porter Graham

1.

APPENDIX

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRACY  
AND INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM (ACDIF)

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front which defended Communist teachers.  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, H. R. 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 13, and House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 87.)
- "2. Cited as subversive and un-American.  
(Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p. 3.)"

Frank Porter Graham

1.

APPENDIX

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF SPANISH DEMOCRACY

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the American Friends of Spanish Democracy:

"1. 'In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations \* \* \* and as \* \* \* American Friends of Spanish Democracy.' (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 of the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 82.)"

Frank Porter Graham

1.

APPENDIX

COMMITTEE FOR BOYCOTT AGAINST  
JAPANESE AGGRESSION

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.  
(California Committee on Un-American  
Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 147,  
319, and 335.)"

Frank Porter Graham

1.

APPENDIX

COORDINATING COMMITTEE TO  
LIFT THE (SPANISH) EMBARGO

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo:

- "1. Cited as one of a number of front organizations, set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist Party in the United States and through which the party carried on a great deal of agitation.  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 137 and 138.)
- "2. Cited as one in a 'series of Communist enterprises which have dealt with Spain and the Spanish Civil War. Directly related, organizationally or historically, with the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee \* \* \*'.  
(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, H. R. 2233, June 7, 1946, p. 27.)"

Frank Porter Graham

1.

APPENDIX

COUNCIL OF YOUNG SOUTHERNERS

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Council of Young Southerners:

- "1. 'Described on its letterhead as having "its origin at the Youth Commission of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare."' (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592 on the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, June 16, 1947, p. 5.)"

Frank Porter Graham

1.

APPENDIX

"DAILY WORKER"

The "Daily Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

Frank Porter Graham

1.

APPENDIX

FRIENDS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade:

- "1. 'In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations.' Among these was the above Communist-front organizations. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 82 and 125; also cited in Annual Report, H. R. 1476, January 3, 1940, p. 9.)"

Frank Porter Graham

1.

APPENDIX

LAWYERS COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN  
RELATIONS WITH SPAIN

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Lawyers Committee on American Relations With Spain:

- "1. 'When it was the policy of the Communist Party to organize much of its main propaganda around the civil war in Spain, the above 'Communist lawyers' front organization' supported this movement. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 168 and 169.)"

Frank Porter Graham

1.

APPENDIX

MEDICAL BUREAU AND NORTH AMERICAN  
COMMITTEE TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy:

- "1. 'In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations.' Among these was the above.  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 82.)
- "2. Cited as subversive and un-American.  
(Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p.3.)
- "3. Cited as one in a 'series of Communist enterprises which have dealt with Spain and Spanish Civil War. Directly related, organizationally or historically, with the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee \* \* \*'  
(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 2233, June 7, 1946, p. 27.)"

Frank Porter Graham

1.

APPENDIX

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO  
ABOLISH THE POLL TAX

- "1. 'Among the Communist-front organizations for racial agitation' which also serve as 'money-collecting media' and 'as special political organizing centers for the racial minority they pretend to champion.'  
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 45.)"

Frank Porter Graham

1.

APPENDIX

NATIONAL EMERGENCY CONFERENCE  
FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 48 and 102.)
- "2. 'It will be remembered that during the days of the infamous Soviet-Nazi pact, the Communists built protective organizations known as the National Emergency Conference, the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, which culminated in the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.'  
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1115 on the Civil Rights Congress, November 17, 1947, originally released September 2, 1947, p. 12.)
- "3. Cited as Subversive and un-American.  
(Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p.3.)"

Frank Porter Graham

1.

APPENDIX

"NEW MASSES"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning "New Masses":

- "1. A 'Communist periodical'.  
(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688.)
- "2. 'Nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party \* \* \* whose ownership was vested in the American Fund for Public Service' (Garland Fund).  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 48 and 75; also cited in Annual Reports, H. R. 2, January 3, 1939, p. 80; and H. R. 2277, June 25, 1942, pp. 4 and 21.)"

Frank Porter Graham

1.

APPENDIX

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Southern Conference for Human Welfare:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate.  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 147.)
- "2. Cited as a Communist-front organization 'which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South' although its 'professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States.'  
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592 on the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, June 16, 1947.)"

Frank Porter Graham

1.

APPENDIX

"SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning "Soviet Russia Today":

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 167; also cited in Annual Report, H. R. 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 21.)
- "2. Cited as a 'Communist-front publication.'  
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1953 on the Congress of American Women, April 26, 1950, originally released October 23, 1949, p. 108.)
- "3. Cited as a 'Communist-controlled' publication.  
(Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Report 2050 on the Institute of Pacific Relations, July 2, 1952, pp. 96 and 146.)"

# The Christian Life Commission

OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION  
460 JAMES ROBERTSON PARKWAY, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37219  
FOY VALENTINE, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER



"Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done in Earth."

b7C

November 8, 1963

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Evans	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Last summer we invited Dr. Frank Porter Graham of the United Nations to address our annual Christian Life Conference at Ridgecrest Baptist Assembly, North Carolina. Since that time we have received letters protesting his appearance on our program. It seems that the Circuit Riders Organization has listed him as subversive and set in motion through their publications this type of agitation against him.

It is possible that these protests will be made in public when the Southern Baptist Convention convenes in annual session at Atlantic City next May. It is in this connection that we should like to request your help. Could you possibly give us any kind of assurance that this man is not considered by your agency as subversive?

Dr. Graham's address to our meeting was in the finest tradition of American patriotism. The address was read into the Congressional Record by Senator Hubert Humphrey. This, of course, only strengthens the conviction of some that a tremendous conspiracy against the country is involved. We fervently hope that you, as the nation's leading law enforcement authority, can render us a service in this increasingly vexing area.

Cordially yours

b7C

RC:d

Humphrey

b7C

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DATE 8/12/00 BY SP-AN/WH

100-23300-21

4 NOV 12 1963

CORRESPONDENCE

November 15, 1963

REC-50

100-23300-27

Mr. [redacted]

b7C

The Christian Life Commission  
of the Southern Baptist Convention  
460 James Robertson Parkway  
Nashville, Tennessee 37219

Dear Mr. [redacted]

b7C

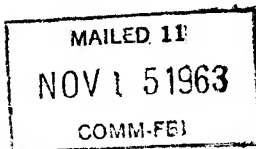
I have received your letter of November 8th concerning  
Dr. Frank Porter Graham.

Although I would like to be of service, the FBI, being an  
investigative agency of the Federal Government, neither makes  
evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of  
any organization, individual or publication. Also, information contained  
in the files of the FBI is confidential and available for official use only,  
pursuant to regulations of the Department of Justice. In view of the  
foregoing, I am sure you will understand why it is not possible for me  
to comply with your request.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director



1 - Memphis - Enclosure

NOTE: Bufiles contain no information concerning correspondent. Dr. Frank  
Porter Graham is well-known to the Bureau. He has been affiliated with over  
twenty-five organizations that were either communist groups or communist-  
infiltrated groups, some of which have been cited by the Attorney General. It  
has been alleged that his affiliations were strictly for the purposes stated by  
the particular groups and not to further communist ideologies. He was investi-  
gated by the Bureau in 1942 and 1943 under the Hatch Act.

JCF:dll

(4)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/15/01 BY SP8 BJA/MLK  
NHI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SAC, New York (100-7629)

January 22, 1964

Director, FBI (100-3176)

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE  
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Bland  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. [redacted] b7C

A review has been made of the investigation of the attempts of the Communist Party (CP) to infiltrate the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the information furnished by the field regarding NAACP national officers and national committee members. This review disclosed there are 37 national officers and committee members who have been active in known or suspected communist front organizations, lent their names as sponsors of such organizations, or lent their names or gave support to communist causes of one type or another during the period 1960-63. In addition, 5 other national officers and committee members had engaged extensively in such subversive activity prior to 1960.

The list of these individuals is set forth below by field office and Bufile numbers.

BALTIMORE

[redacted] (100-428870) b7C  
[redacted] (100-433104)

24 - New York  
5 - Baltimore  
15 - Boston  
3 - Charlotte  
5 - Chicago  
5 - Detroit  
3 - Kansas City  
5 - Little Rock

5 - Los Angeles  
3 - Miami  
3 - New Haven  
3 - New Orleans  
3 - Oklahoma City  
3 - Philadelphia  
3 - San Diego  
11 - Washington Field

1 - Each Bufile listed on pages 1, 2 and 3

NOTE: See memo Baumgardner to Sullivan dated 1/21/64, same caption, JHK:mar

JHK:mar  
(149)

DUPLICATE YELLOW

NOT RECORDED  
145 FEB 4 1964

74 FEB 5 1964

Letter to New York  
RE: NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE  
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE  
100-3176

BOSTON

[redacted] (100-433616)  
[redacted] (100-35062)  
Harlow, Ralph S. (100-333697)  
[redacted] (100-423789)  
[redacted] (100-2993)  
[redacted] (100-428857)  
[redacted] (100-419711)

b7C

CHARLOTTE

[redacted] (100-211384) b7C

CHICAGO

[redacted] (100-458305)  
[redacted] (100-365733) b7C

DETROIT

[redacted] (100-403325)  
[redacted] (100-440708) b7C

KANSAS CITY

[redacted] (100-441175) b7C

LITTLE ROCK

Eates, Daisy (100-428927)  
[redacted] (100-113093) b7C

LOS ANGELES

[redacted] (100-168670) b7C  
Shipler, Guy Emery (100-352426)

MIAMI

[redacted] (105-73957) b7C

NEW HAVEN

[redacted] (100-423869) b7C

Letter to New York  
RE: NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE  
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE  
100-3176

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NEW ORLEANS

[REDACTED] (100-423355) b7C

NEW YORK

[REDACTED] (100-431768) b7C  
[REDACTED] (100-207873)  
[REDACTED] (100-31245)  
[REDACTED] (62-97230)  
[REDACTED] (100-12734) b7C  
✓ Graham, Frank P. (100-22300)  
[REDACTED] (61-1373) b7C

[REDACTED] (105-52030) (X)(u)  
Kirchwey, Freda (100-40612)  
Powell, C. B. (100-423913)  
Spingarn, Arthur B. (100-441133)  
[REDACTED] (100-423343) b7C

OKLAHOMA CITY

[REDACTED] (100-441173) b7C

PHILADELPHIA

[REDACTED] (100-47703) b7C

SAN DIEGO

Urey, Harold C. (118-13315)

WASHINGTON FIELD

[REDACTED] (101-4346) b7C  
[REDACTED] (100-44220)  
[REDACTED] (100-441177)  
[REDACTED] (100-423397)  
[REDACTED] (100-423353) b7C

b7C

Of the above, the names of [REDACTED] and Robert W. Kenny are included on the Security Index and the name of Daisy Bates is included on Reserve Index B of the Little Rock Office.

- 3 -  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Letter to New York  
RE: NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE  
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE  
100-3176

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Two copies of this letter are attached for the field file of each of the above 42 individuals.

Each office is instructed to conduct a discreet investigation to determine whether any of these individuals are presently under CP influence, domination or control and to determine whether their activities presently warrant the inclusion or retention of their names on the Security Index or one of the Reserve Indices. These investigations should be conducted pursuant to the provisions of Section 87 D of the Manual of Instructions. The reports covering these investigations should reach the Bureau by 3/1/64. The cover pages of the reports should refer specifically to instant communication. In those instances where an individual is the subject of a current investigation or has been the subject of an investigation in the past, the report should bring the investigation up to date since the submission of the last report.

One copy of each report should be furnished the New York Office, which is office of origin of captioned investigation, designated for New York's file 100-7629. New York should incorporate pertinent information developed regarding CP influence, domination or control of any of these individuals in its next investigative report submitted in captioned matter.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

15

CC TO: C.S.C. ... ..  
REQ. REC'D 6-24  
JUN 26 1964  
ANS.  
BY: [Signature]

## C

New York LHM, 10/14/63, captioned, "FRANK PORTER GRAHAM, MEMBER OF THE 'COMMITTEE OF 100' IN SUPPORT OF THE NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC."

- C -

The report is being classified "~~Confidential~~" because it contains information from [ ] a current confidential source whose identity if revealed to unauthorized individuals might hamper the investigation of subversive activities in the United States.

b2  
b7D

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~  
~~HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~  
DATE 1/11/01 BY SP-6/MLK  
#941072  
ROE  
Z/Leint...  
Wentworth...  
coming in  
R. [signature] -9

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16-76324-1



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York  
February 28, 1964

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Bureau file 100-23300  
New York file 100-152498

Title

Frank Porter Graham

Character

Security Matter - C

Reference

is made to New York report  
of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned  
as above.

b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.



b2

b7D

Was in a position to  
furnish reliable information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/15/00 BY SP8 NIM/AMC

#941072

NY 100-152498

The NYO does not have a Bureau approved characterization for any of the organizations listed below.

[redacted] United States Penitentiary, Atlanta, Georgia, made available information on 9/8/54, which reflected that one FRANK P. GRAHAM was the Chairman of the National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc., 122 East 19th Street, New York, New York on 5/11/54. b7C

[redacted] (former) (conceal), made available information on 4/24/57, that one FRANK GRAHAM was listed as a 1956 National Sponsor of the Womens International League for Peace and Freedom. b2 b7D

[redacted] made available information on 2/20/61, that one FRANK P. GRAHAM was on the list of the National Sponsoring Committee of the Negro American Labor Council (NALC) Workshop and Institute on Race Bias in Trade Unions, Industry and Government, Washington, D. C. b2 b7D

On 2/7/42, the NYO received from an anonymous individual a letter written on the letterhead stationery of the National Committee of the Friends of Democracy, Inc. The letterhead reflected that one FRANK PORTER GRAHAM was on the National Committee of the Friends of Democracy, Inc.

A highly confidential source made available information in July, 1945, which reflected that Dr. FRANK GRAHAM was listed on 5/4/45, as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Friends of Spanish Republic.

NY 100-152498

b7C

On 2/25/64, SA [redacted] made a pretext telephone call to Beaux Arts Apartment Hotel, 310 East 44th Street, New York City. The pretext utilized was that of being [redacted] of the Abrams Travel Service with something to address to the subject. b7C

This case is being closed in the NYO as subject's activities do not warrant his inclusion on the Security Index or Reserve Index of the NYO.

INFORMANTS

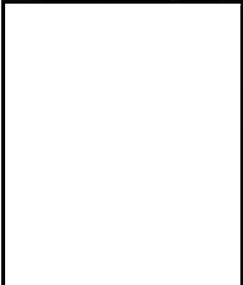


Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

b2	[redacted]	Instant Report page 1	
b7C	Mrs. [redacted]	Advised SA [redacted]	b7C
b7D	[redacted]	[redacted]	
	[redacted]	[redacted]	
	[redacted] b2	[redacted] p. 2	
	[redacted] b7C		
	[redacted] b7D		
b2	[redacted]	[redacted]	b7C
b7D	[redacted]	[redacted]	

NY 100-152498

The following informants were contacted with  
negative results on the dates indicated:

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Date Contacted</u>	<u>Contacting Agent</u>
 b2 b7D	2/18/64	 b7C
	2/20/64	
	2/20/64	 b7C
	2/20/64	
	2/12/64	
	2/12/64	
2/10/64		

- D\* -  
COVER PAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

## Copy to:

Report of:

Date:

FEB 28 1964

Field Office File No.:

100-152498

Office: New York, New York

Bureau File No.: 100-23300

Title:

FRANK PORTER GRAHAM

Character:

SECURITY MATTER - C

## Synopsis:

Subject receives mail at the UN. Subject resides at Beaux Arts Hotel, 310 East 44th Street, New York, New York, and is employed as an Expert in mediation work by the UN in NYC. Subject reported to have been a member of the Executive Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in North Carolina. The Congressional Record Index reflects information that Congressman PLOESER from Missouri stated on 4/15/41, that a book listed Dr. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM was once a board member of the Soviet Russia's State University in Moscow, summer school for training American students in Communism. The "New York Herald Tribune" issue dated 3/24/49, contained quotations from Dr. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM concerning his past membership in Communist front organizations. GRAHAM said at that time in the answer to the question - Are you now or have you ever been a Communist, "Never in my life, I have never been, never wanted to be and never will be." The "New York Herald Tribune" issue of 2/4/49, contains an article which indicates that Representative F. EDWARD HEBERT, in a speech on the House floor, said that the House Committee on Un-American Activities has listed Dr. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM as either a director or sponsor of 18 Communist front organizations. Information obtained from a name check of indices and/or printed hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities is set out.

DETAILS:

- C -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

DECLASSIFIED BY 1259 JPH/eff  
ON 10-10-78

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 10/21/78

I. BACKGROUND

A. Birth

"Who's Who in America," Volume 32, for 1962-1963, published by the A. N. Marquis Company, 210 East Ohio Street, Chicago, Illinois, contains information concerning the subject on page 1195, columns 1 and 2. It indicates FRANK PORTER GRAHAM was born on October 14, 1886, in Fayetteville, North Carolina, and that his parents' names were ALEXANDER and KATHERINE BRYAN (SLOAN).

B. Residence

"Who's Who in America," for 1962-1963, indicates that the subject's home is in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, and that his address is the United Nations in New York City.

[ ] advised on February 25, 1964, that the subject receives his mail at the United Nations (UN) in New York City, and is last known to have resided at the Beaux Arts Hotel, 310 East 44th Street, New York City. b2 b7D

A Special Agent (SA) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), utilizing a suitable pretext, ascertained on February 25, 1964, that the subject continues to reside at the Beaux Arts Hotel, 310 East 44th Street, New York City.

C. Employment

[ ] advised on February 24 and 25, 1964, that the subject is currently employed by the UN as an Expert in mediation work. b2 b7D

"Who's Who in America," Volume 32, for 1962-1963, indicates that the subject is presently the President of the North Carolina Conference for Social Service. It also lists the subject as a member of the Committee on Civil Rights. The book lists the subject as a former member of the National Board of the American Red Cross. It lists the subject as the Chairman of the National Advisory Council on Social Security. "Who's Who in America" also contains the following information concerning the subject:

First President, Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies;  
Chairman of the National Sharecroppers Fund;  
Member of the North Carolina Historical Literary Society;  
Phi Beta Kappa.

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"Who's Who in America," for 1962-1963, mentioned above, lists the subject as a Mediator at the UN and is a public member of the National War Labor Board. It also lists the subject as Administrator, Defense Manpower, United States Department of Labor.

Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM advised SA [redacted] on January 5, 1955, that he was then employed as a Representative in India and Pakistan for the UN. b7C

#### D. Former Employment

"Who's Who in America," of 1954-1955, reflects that the subject was President of the University of North Carolina in 1930; was appointed United States Senator from North Carolina and served as such in 1949 and 1950; served as a member of the President's Committee on Education in 1945; served as a member of the President's Committee on Civil Rights in 1946; and served as first President, Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies from 1946 to 1949. Who's Who further reflects that FRANK PORTER GRAHAM has served as the UN Representative for India and Pakistan since 1951.

"Who's Who in America," for 1962-1963, mentioned above, indicates that the subject is a former Professor of History at the University of North Carolina, 1930-1949.

#### E. Education

"Who's Who in America," for 1962-1963, lists the following education of the subject:

Graduated A.B. Degree from the University of North Carolina in 1909; A.M. Degree from Columbia University in 1916; "L.L.D., D.C.L., Ed.D., D. Litt." - all honorary from numerous colleges and universities.

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F. Marital Status

"Who's Who in America," for 1962-1963, indicates that the subject had married MARIAN DRANE in July, 1932.

II. AFFILIATION WITH THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

A. Southern Conference for Human Welfare

A characterization of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare may be found on Appendix page attached hereto.

Mrs. [redacted] Street, b7C  
Greensboro, North Carolina, advised SA [redacted]  
[redacted] in January, 1946, that Dr. FRANK GRAHAM, President  
of the University of North Carolina, had been invited  
to a meeting of the Southern Conference for Human  
Welfare in Durham, North Carolina on January 12, 1945.

[redacted] b2  
[redacted] advised in December, 1945, that Dr. b7D  
FRANK GRAHAM, President of the University of North  
Carolina, was a member of the Executive Committee of  
the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in North  
Carolina.

[redacted] b2  
[redacted] advised on July 1, 1946, that Dr. b7D  
FRANK GRAHAM, President of the University of North  
Carolina and member of the National War Labor Board,  
was an officer of the Southern Conference for Human  
Welfare.

The Congressional Record Index, Volume 87,  
Part 15, 77th Congress, First Session, reflects information  
pertaining to FRANK PORTER GRAHAM on page 3128. Page  
3128 reflects that Congressman PLOESER from Missouri  
on April 15, 1941, addressed the House of Representatives  
and expressed his inability to understand why certain men

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were selected for membership on the "Super-Mediation Board" which had recently been created by the President of the United States. He was particularly concerned with the appointment of Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM who was to represent the public in the settlement of labor controversies. Congressman PLOESER referred to a book entitled, "The Fifth Column Versus the Dies Committee," published by the Constitutional Educational League of New Haven, Connecticut, which suggested on pages 20 and 21 that Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina, was once a board member of the Soviet Russia's State University of Moscow, summer school for training American students in Communism. The book further stated that GRAHAM had served as President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare which had been identified by EARL BROWDER before the Dies Committee as a "Transmission Belt" for Communist propaganda. Congressman PLOESER remarked that if GRAHAM was an important factor in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and had served as a board member of the University of Moscow summer school for training American students in Communism, he was not the man to represent the public on the "Super-Mediation Board."

The "New York Herald Tribune" of October 1, 1952, refers to EARL BROWDER as the General Secretary of the Communist Party (CP) from 1930-1944.

An article by LOUIS BUDENZ in the "Daily Worker" of May 23, 1944, page 2, reflects that EARL BROWDER was elected President of the Communist Political Association on May 22, 1944.

It is noted that on May 20-23, 1944, the CP assumed the name Communist Political Association, and on July 26-28, 1945, again reverted to the name CP, USA.

The "Daily Worker" is a former East Coast Communist daily newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

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B. Statements Made by the Subject

The "New York Herald Tribune" issue dated March 24, 1949, contained an article captioned, "Inquiry Sought on Loyalty Test Given Graham." The article said Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM had been appointed by the Government of North Carolina as United States Senator on March 22, 1949. The article indicated that Dr. GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina, was cleared by the Atomic Energy Commission in December, 1948, for access to secret information in his auxiliary capacity as President of the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies which was described as a non-profit organization of southern universities engaged in research at the atomic energy plant at Oak Ridge, Tennessee. The article noted that the clearance had been disputed because of his past membership in Communist front organizations. This article quoted Dr. GRAHAM as saying the following in answer to these questions, - How about the charges that you let your name be used by too many organizations controlled by Communist fellow travelers, "Well," he said, "I joined an organization to send medicine and supplies to the hospitals of the Spanish Republic when Hitler, Mussolini and Franco were in combination against the Spanish Republic, that's one. Then I joined a committee to aid China when Japan was the aggressor against China. And of course, I served as honorary President of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare."

The subject was asked, - Are you now or have you ever been a Communist? The subject answered, "Never in my life, I never have been,, never wanted to be, and never will be." The subject added, "My stand has always been against totalitarian dictatorship either of the Right or of the Left. My line has been neither the Fascist nor the Communist line, it has been a Democratic line all the way through."

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The "New York Herald Tribune" issue dated February 4, 1949, under the caption, "Hebert Accuses Dr. Graham of Red Front Ties," contains an article which indicates that Representative F. EDWARD HEBERT, in a speech on the House floor, said that the House Committee on Un-American Activities has listed Dr. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM as either a director or sponsor of 18 Communist front organizations. GRAHAM was quoted as having replied that he has "always been opposed to Communism and all totalitarian governments."

The January 14, 1949 issue of the "Charlotte News," a Charlotte, North Carolina, daily newspaper, carried an article quoting Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as saying he was always against Communism. This article reflected Dr. GRAHAM was then President of the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies, and that he had been given a security clearance by the Atomic Energy Commission.

C. House Committee on Un-American Activities.

A name check of the indices and/or printed hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, on May 15, 1958, by Special Employee [redacted] b7C on the name FRANK P. GRAHAM, reflected the following pertinent references which were not checked against the original source:

Characterizations of the organizations mentioned will be contained in the Appendix attached hereto except for organizations designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450, which will be listed immediately following the information set out from the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Appendix IX

Page 328 reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM of the University of North Carolina as a member of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (ACDIF) as it appeared in the "Daily Worker," of March 18, 1939, Page 2, under "Scientists in Drive for Democracy."

Page 335 reflects one President FRANK P. GRAHAM, University of North Carolina, as a National Committeeman of ACDIF.

Page 336 reflects one President FRANK P. GRAHAM, University of North Carolina, as a member of the National Executive Committee of the ACDIF.

Page 349 reflects one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as a sponsor of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (ACPFB).

Page 354 reflects one Dr. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina, as a sponsor of the Fifth National Conference of the ACPFB.

Page 381 reflects one President FRANK P. GRAHAM as a member of the Committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy (AFSD).

Page 382 reflects that "New Masses," of January 5, 1937, Page 31, indicates one FRANK P. GRAHAM as a sponsor of the AFSD.

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Page 392 reflects "New Masses," of March 15, 1938, Page 19, indicates one FRANK P. GRAHAM, as a signer of a statement in "Readers Forum," "Quarantining the Aggressor" made by the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Page 621 reflects one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina, as one of the Educators among the Prominent Americans Who Favor Presidential Clemency For the Release of Earl Browder.

Page 666 reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina, as one of the Representatives Individuals, Presidents and Deans of Colleges and Universities appearing in an official booklet of the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo.

Page 675 reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM as a sponsor of the Council of Young Southerners, "Stay South, Young Man."

Page 840 reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina, and Chairman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, as one of those who sent greetings and messages wishing success for the National Conference of the International Labor Defense held in Washington, DC, July 8 and July 9, 1939.

Page 965 reflects one President FRANK P. GRAHAM, University of North Carolina, as one of those sending messages of support and good wishes to the Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain, which organized a two-day "Conference to Lift the Embargo" and convened in Washington, DC, November 19 and November 20, 1938.

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Dr.  
Page 1168 reflects one/FRANK P. GRAHAM  
as a sponsor of the National Committee to  
Abolish the Poll Tax.

Page 1213 reflects one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM  
as the signer of an open letter about "Alien  
Baiting," which was issued by the National  
Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights.

Page 1215 reflects one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM  
as a signer of "A Warning to America," also  
issued by the National Emergency Conference  
for Democratic Rights.

Page 1583 reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM  
was the first Chairman of the Southern  
Conference for Human Welfare and has a strong  
predilection for affiliations with Communist  
front organizations and has been associated  
with:

American Committee for Democracy and  
Intellectual Freedom  
American Committee for Protection of  
Foreign Born  
American Friends of Spanish Democracy  
American Friends of Spanish Democracy  
Medical Bureau  
American League for Peace and Democracy  
China Aid Council  
China Aid Council of American League for  
Peace and Democracy  
Committee for Boycott Against Japanese  
Aggression  
Conference to Lift the Embargo  
Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo  
International Labor Defense  
Medical Bureau and North American Committee  
to Aid Spanish Democracy

NY 100-12498

Page 1585 reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM, Honorary Chairman, as an officer of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, from an official report of the organization.

Page 1592 reflects one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, as one of the general officers who compose the Executive Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 1938-1939.

Page 1598 reflects a Third Meeting of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare "The South's Part in Winning the War For Democracy" on Sunday, April 19, 1942, this lists one of the addresses to be given by a Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina.

Page 1599 reflects the program for Monday, April 20, 1942, of the above-mentioned conference. It was noted one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM was Chairman of Panel One, "Industrial Production."

Page 1604 reflects one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as one of the sponsors of a dinner celebrating the 25th Anniversary of the Red Army under the auspices of the magazine "Soviet Russia Today."

Page 1611 reflects one Professor FRANK P. GRAHAM as a sponsor of the Medical Bureau and Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

Page 10 of House Report 2277, Special Report on Subversive Activities Aimed at Destroying Our Representative Form of Government, June 25, 1942, reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM, a sponsor of the Union for Democratic Action, as being affiliated with 5 other agencies and fronts of the Communist Party.

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Page 13 of the above-mentioned report reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM as one of the 10 leaders of the Union for Democratic Action who have been affiliated with the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.

Page 15 of the above-mentioned report reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM, a sponsor of the Union for Democratic Action, who was a national sponsor of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

b7C

Page [ ] of the testimony of [ ] of the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service, Federal Communications Commission, on April 1, 1943, in connection with the Executive Hearing, Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States, reflects one FRANK GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina, was a sponsor of a meeting under the auspices of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, held on or about April 13, 1940.

b7C

Page 137 of the testimony of WALTER S. STEELE, regarding Communist activity in the United States, on July 21, 1947, before the Committee on Un-American Activities, reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM was elected as honorary Chairman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare on April 14 - April 16, 1940, at the Memorial Auditorium, Chattanooga.

Page 138 of the above-mentioned testimony reflects a third conference of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was held at Memorial Hall, Nashville, April 19 - April 21, 1942, at which conference one FRANK P. GRAHAM delivered an address.

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Page 1 of the report on the Southern Conference for Human Welfare before the Committee on Un-American Activities on June 16, 1947, reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM as Honorary President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Page 6 of the above-mentioned report reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM, Head of the University of North Carolina, was the first Chairman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and remains as its honorary President.

Page 8 of the above-mentioned report reflects the change of the Communist line resulting from the signing of the Stalin-Hitler Pact "invoked a bitter struggle in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare at its meeting in April, 1940. The liberals led by one FRANK P. GRAHAM supported the policy of the ROOSEVELT Administration."

Page 14 of the above-mentioned report is a table showing connections with Communist front organizations or Communist activities on which was listed one FRANK P. GRAHAM, honorary President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, a supporter of BROWDER and affiliated with the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, American Committee for Foreign Born, International Labor Defense, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and American League for Peace and Democracy.

Page 191 of the testimony of PAUL CROUCH at hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, May 6, 1949. Mr. CROUCH was asked how one Dr. GRAHAM, a non-Communist in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, got into the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

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He stated that Dr. GRAHAM was approached with the names of other endorsers who were not Communists and convinced him the Southern Conference was a bona fide organization interested only in improving conditions in the South.

Page 3325 of the testimony of EDWARD G. ROBINSON at hearings before the Un-American Activities Committee on October 27, 1950, reflects one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as a sponsor of a dinner celebrating the 25th Anniversary of the Red Army on February 22, 1943, in New York City.

Page 3638 of the testimony of BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM at hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities on July 21, 1953, is OXNAM exhibit Number 11, a letterhead dated April 16, 1939, of the American League for Peace and Democracy on which one President FRANK P. GRAHAM was listed as one of the National Committee Members.

Page 3669 of the above-mentioned testimony is OXNAM exhibit Number 19, which is a letterhead dated July 6, 1938, of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy on which is listed one President FRANK P. GRAHAM a national sponsor.

Page 3670 of the above-mentioned testimony is OXNAM exhibit Number 20, which is a letterhead dated February 2, 1939, of the above-mentioned organization on which is listed one Professor FRANK P. GRAHAM as a sponsor.

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Page 3688 of the above-mentioned testimony reflects OXNAM exhibit Number 23, (Part 2) which lists one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as a sponsor of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax.

Page 2 of the International Communism (Communist Design on Indonesia and the Pacific Frontier) before the Committee on Un-American Activities, December 16, 1957, indicates "The Communist Party theoretical monthly, 'Political Affairs,' September, 1947, laid down the official American Communist policy on Indonesia one year before a United Nations Commission, headed by Mr. GRAHAM, began to operate. The U.N.C.I. appeared to follow the 'Political Affairs' piece almost to the letter."

head / Page 18 of the above-mentioned document reflects CHARLES BIDIEN in an article in "Political Affairs" threw light on the Indonesian situation by revealing that the Indonesian Government was about two thirds Communist controlled. The sinister implications of this article, laying down Communist policy of Indonesia (1947) is the fact that a United Nations Commission, headed by FRANK PORTER GRAHAM, (1948) appeared to have followed BIDIEN's recommendations almost to the letter.

A name check of the indices and/or printed hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities concerning the name of Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM on October 10, 1963, by Investigative Clerk [redacted] revealed no further b7C pertinent information concerning GRAHAM.

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The following organizations have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450:

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (ACFPB).

American League for Peace and Democracy (ALPD).

Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA).

China Aid Council of American League for Peace and Democracy.

International Labor Defense.

National Council of American Soviet Friendship.

D. Additional Information from the Congressional Record Index, Volume 87

The Congressional Record Index, Volume 87, Part 15, 77th Congress, First Session, reflects information pertaining to FRANK P. GRAHAM on page 8461:

Page 8461 reflects that on November 3, 1941, Congressman LELAND M. FORD of California addressed the House of Representatives, in which address he referred to a decision of the National Defense Mediation Board in the case of Air Associates, Incorporated. Congressman FORD also referred to FRANK P. GRAHAM, the Chairman of the panel which had heard the case of Air Associates, Incorporated. In his remarks, Congressman FORD stated that he had documentary proof of FRANK P. GRAHAM's affiliation with the following front organizations of the CP:

American League for Peace and Democracy.  
Southern Conference for Human Welfare.  
Committee for for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression.  
American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual

Freedom.

NY 100-152498

Medical Bureau American Friends of Spanish  
Democracy.

Medical Bureau and North American Committee  
to Aid Spanish Democracy.

American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo.

International Labor Defense.

American Committee for Protection of Foreign

Born.

### III. MISCELLANEOUS

Certain informants who are familiar with  
some phases of CP and CP front group activities in  
the New York City area were contacted during February,  
1964. They advised that they were not acquainted  
with the subject, and that they were unable to furnish  
any information concerning the subject.

NY 100-152498

1.

APPENDIX

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRACY  
AND INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM (ACDIF)

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, DC, contains the following concerning the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front which defended Communist teachers.  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, H.R. 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 13, and House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 87.)
- "2. Cited as subversive and un-American.  
(Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p. 3.)"

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APPENDIX

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF SPANISH DEMOCRACY

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, DC, contains the following concerning the American Friends of Spanish Democracy:

- "1. 'In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations \* \* \* and as \* \* \* American Friends of Spanish Democracy.' (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 of the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 82.)"

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APPENDIX

COMMITTEE FOR BOYCOTT AGAINST  
JAPANESE AGGRESSION

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.  
(California Committee on Un-American  
Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 147,  
319, and 335.)"

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APPENDIX

COORDINATING COMMITTEE TO  
LIFT THE (SPANISH) EMBARGO

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, DC, contains the following concerning the Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo:

- "1. Cited as one of a number of front organizations, set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist Party in the United States and through which the party carried on a great deal of agitation.  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 137 and 138.)
- "2. Cited as one in a 'series of Communist enterprises which have dealt with Spain and the Spanish Civil War. Directly related, organizationally or historically, with the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee \* \* \*'.  
(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, H.R. 2233, June 7, 1946, p. 27.)"

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APPENDIX

COUNCIL OF YOUNG SOUTHERNERS

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, DC, contains the following concerning the Council of Young Southerners:

- "1. 'Described on its letterhead as having "its origin at the Youth Commission of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare." ' (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592 on the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, June 16, 1947, p. 5.)"

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APPENDIX

FRIENDS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade:

- "1. 'The Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (herein also referred to as the FALB) was an organization connected with the (Communist) Party which functioned in cities throughout the United States to raise funds to finance the ALB (Abraham Lincoln Brigade) operation and as a propaganda outlet for the Party. Those shown on this record to be active as its officers and staff members were in the main Party members and functionaries, principal among whom were David McKelvy White and Phil Bard, who returned early from Spain to engage in this work. The FALB functioned in conjunction with the Party and was supported by the Party organization.'

'The FALB provided ALB veterans, including a number who were witnesses for petitioner and respondent, aid and assistance by way of cash contributions, clothing, medical and dental services, and legal assistance.  
\* \* \*'

'The FALB in using ALB members to raise money also projected through them Party propaganda.'

'\* \* \* the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade \* \* \* raised hundreds of thousands of dollars \* \* \* while also functioning as a propaganda outlet for the Party. When it went out of existence around 1940, its functions were taken over by respondent (the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade)."

(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 108-53, Report and Order with respect to the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, December 21, 1955, pp. 18, 19, and 121.)

- "2. 'In 1937-1938, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations.' Among these was the above Communist front organization.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 82 and 125; also cited in Annual Report, H.R. 1476, January 3, 1940, p.9).'

NY 100-152498

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APPENDIX

LAWYERS COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN  
RELATIONS WITH SPAIN

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, DC, contains the following concerning the Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain:

- "1. 'When it was the policy of the Communist Party to organize much of its main propaganda around the civil war in Spain,' the above 'Communist lawyers' front organization' supported this movement.  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 168 and 169.)"

NY 100-152498

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APPENDIX

MEDICAL BUREAU AND NORTH AMERICAN  
COMMITTEE TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, DC, contains the following concerning the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy:

- "1. 'In 1937-1938, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations.' Among these was the above.  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 82.)
- "2. Cited as subversive and un-American.  
(Special Committee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p.3.)
- "3. Cited as one in a 'series of Communist enterprises which have dealt with Spain and Spanish Civil War. Directly related, organizationally or historically, with the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee \* \* \*'  
(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 2233, June 7, 1946, p. 27.)"

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APPENDIX

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO  
ABOLISH THE POLL TAX

- "1. 'Among the Communist front organizations for racial agitation' which also serve as 'money-collecting media' and 'as special political organizing centers for the racial minority they pretend to champion.'

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 45.)"

NY 100-152498

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APPENDIX

NATIONAL EMERGENCY CONFERENCE  
FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, DC, contains the following concerning the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 48 and 102.)
- "2. 'It will be remembered that during the days of the infamous Soviet-Nazi pact, the Communists built protective organizations known as the National Emergency Conference, the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, which culminated in the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.'  
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1115 on the Civil Rights Congress, November 17, 1947, originally released September 2, 1947, p. 12.)
- "3. Cited as Subversive and un-American.  
(Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p. 3)"

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APPENDIX

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"NEW MASSES"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning "New Masses:"

- "1. 'New Masses, a weekly publication, \* \* \* was an officially controlled organ of the (Communist) Party which dealt principally with problems in the arts and sciences from the Party point of view.' (Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 108-53, Report and Order with respect to the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, December 21, 1955, p. 8.)
- "2. A 'Communist periodical.' (Attorney General FRANCIS BIDDLE, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688.)
- "3. 'Nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party \* \* \* whose ownership was vested in the American Fund for Public Service,' (Garland Fund). (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 48 and 75; also cited in Annual Reports, H.R. 2, January 3, 1939, p. 80; and H.R. 2277, June 25, 1942, pp. 4 and 21.)"

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APPENDIX

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, DC, contains the following concerning the Southern Conference for Human Welfare:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate.  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 147.)
- "2. Cited as a Communist front organization 'which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South' although its 'professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States.'  
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592 on the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, June 16, 1947.)"

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APPENDIX

"SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, DC, contains the following concerning "Soviet Russia Today:"

- "1. 'Soviet Russia Today commenced as the official organ of Friends of the Soviet Union.\*\*\* It and its successor (New World Review) have a continuous record of over 22 years of uninterrupted publication and admittedly have operated in respondent's (the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.) interest and are used as educational media by respondent.' 'Jessica Smith was \*\*\* shown to be long-time member and functionary in the (Communist) Party, as well as in the Party-controlled Friends of the Soviet Union. She has been continuously the editor of Soviet Russia Today and its successor New World Review for years.' She has also been on the Board of Directors of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., since it was incorporated in 1943 or shortly thereafter.'
- (Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 104-53, Report and Order with respect to the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., February 7, 1956, pp. 20 and 22; see also pp. 7 and 9.)

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APPENDIX

"SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY"

- "2. Cited as a Communist front.  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 167; also cited in Annual Report, House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, p.21.)
- "3. Cited as a 'Communist-front publication.'  
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1953 on the Congress of American Women, April 26, 1950, originally released October 23, 1949, p. 108.)
- "4. Cited as a 'Communist-controlled' publication.  
(Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Report 2050 on the Institute of Pacific Relations, July 2, 1952, pp. 96 and 146.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

OF

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA

820 Fleming Avenue

March 16, 1964

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

The League of Women Voters has invited Dr. Frank P. Graham, former president of the University of North Carolina, to speak to us on April 14th on his role as a United Nations mediator. I haven't learned yet whether or not he can come. Meanwhile one of my members has told me that at one time Dr. Graham was attacked by a major magazine as being a Communist. Since it is entirely possible that if Dr. Graham should accept our invitation, this old charge will be brought up again by local groups, I would like to have the truth of the matter so that the League can act accordingly. As a native North Carolinian who has never heard this charge before, my first inclination is to label such accusations as extreme and not worth noticing. However, I've also learned that the best way to combat slander is by getting accurate facts and presenting them. Can you help me? If not, can you direct me to another source. Even if Dr. Graham does not come, I welcome this opportunity to learn just how a citizen does go about getting the truth behind accusations as this one.

Sincerely,

[Redacted Signature]

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CORRESPONDENCE R19

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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March 20, 1964

Mrs. [redacted]

b7C

Georgia

N.C.

Dear Mrs. [redacted]

b7C

I have received your letter of March 16th.

Although I would like to be of service to you, information contained in the files of the FBI is confidential pursuant to the regulations of the Department of Justice and is available for official use only. I regret I am unable to be of help in this instance but trust you will understand. I hope you will not infer that we do or do not have information in our files pertaining to the individual about whom you inquired.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

MAILED 19  
MAR 20 1964  
COMM-FBI

NOTE: Correspondent cannot be identified in Bufiles. Dr. Frank P. Graham about whom correspondent inquired is well known to the Bureau and has been affiliated with many communist or communist infiltrated groups. He is currently the subject of a Security Matter-C investigation.

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- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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September 11, 1964

FRANK P. GRAHAM

Frank Porter Graham, born Fayetteville, North Carolina, on October 14, 1886, was investigated by this Bureau in 1943 under the provisions of the Hatch Act and again in October, 1947, under the Atomic Energy Act. The investigations and information subsequently received by this Bureau have revealed that Mr. Graham has held membership in numerous organizations which have been reported to be communist infiltrated or have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450 or cited by Congressional committees. The investigations did not reveal that he was a member or affiliated with the Communist Party. Many individuals interviewed and confidential informants indicated that Mr. Graham affiliated with these groups or organizations for the stated purpose of the organization and not to aid communist ideologies.

"The Congressional Record" of November 3, 1941, contains an article pertaining to "Communism Among Government Officials." Remarks by the Honorable Leland M. Ford in part indicated that he had documentary proof that Frank P. Graham had been affiliated with numerous communist front organizations such as The American League for Peace and Democracy, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Committee for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression, etc. - This record further indicates statements by Ford to the effect that while he appreciated that many innocent persons had been duped into joining or supporting communist front organizations, he could hardly understand why Frank P. Graham, who had been a close student of political and social movements for many years, could be in that category. He pointed out that Graham had associated himself with no less than ten communist front organizations and to that extent had aided the communist cause in this country.

REC-9 100-2330030

At about this time Mr. Graham had been appointed by the President of the United States to serve on a Labor Mediation Board.

NOTE: Per request of [redacted] of the White House.

ELC:rab

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67 SEP 29 1964

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MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Another comment in "The Congressional Record" on April 14, 1941, by Congressman Plooser of Missouri, indicated in substance that the Congressman was particularly concerned with the appointment of Mr. Graham to represent the public in the settlement of labor controversies because of his long history of association with communist front organizations.

Mr. Graham served as President of the University of North Carolina from 1930 until approximately 1950. Since leaving that institution he has held various public offices and has served in various capacities at the United Nations. He received an interim appointment as United States Senator from North Carolina in 1949 and served until 1950.

The "New York World Telegram" of April 5, 1962, contained an article entitled "Pardon Scales, Kennedy Asked." The article indicated that a petition bearing 450 names, including that of Frank P. Graham, asked President Kennedy to pardon Junius Scales, one-time North Carolina communist leader. The article indicated that Scales was convicted under the Membership Clause of the Smith Act in 1958 and was sentenced to serve a six-year term in a Federal penitentiary.